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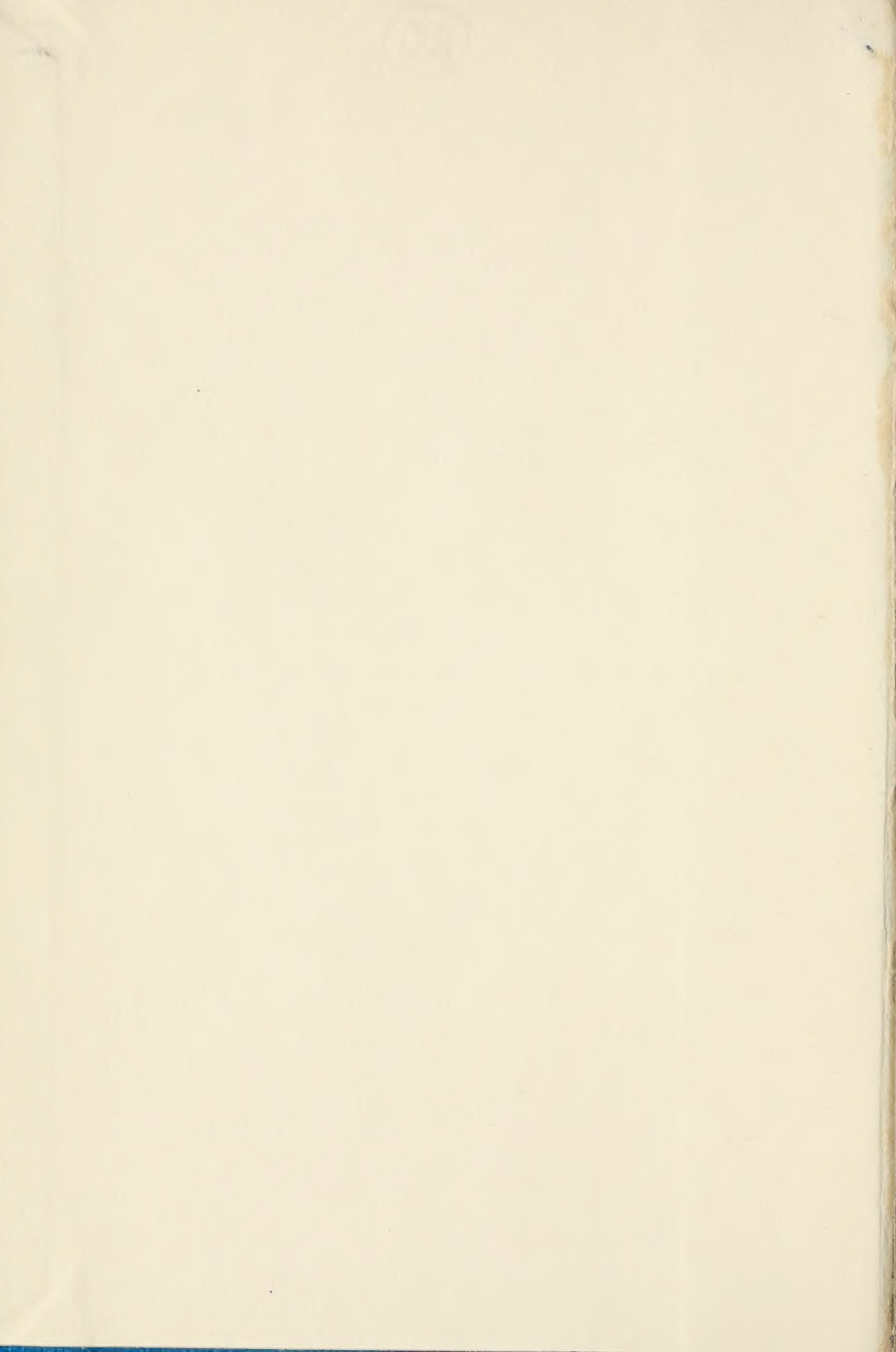

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IRELAND

From the Earliest Times to the Present Day

BY

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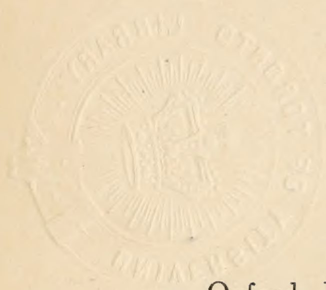

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PREFACE

In his essay on 'How History should be written' Lucian, after remarking that brevity, provided it be not due to insufficient information, is essential, proceeds, 'but there is a brevity of matter as well as of expression. Some events require less extended treatment than others, while some may well be omitted altogether'. It is in the spirit of Lucian's advice that I have written this little history. The book is primarily intended that they who run may read. But whether I have been successful in distinguishing between what is essential and what is not essential is of course open to question. Facts may be manipulated as easily as figures, and some writers are great adepts at extracting only those facts which tell for their theory. Fortunately I have no theory to serve. Historically, Ireland is as remote to me as ancient Egypt. My only concern is to get at the truth. Every history must bear a personal tinge, and all that can reasonably be demanded from an historian is that he should make himself as fully acquainted as possible with the facts and that he should be scrupulously honest in his use of them. I have endeavoured to satisfy both these canons; but if in anything I have written I have unconsciously erred I trust I may be forgiven. Particularly I hope that no one will consider me to be wanting in sympathy for those who have fought to secure national independence. My use of such words as 'rebel' and 'rebellion' is not intended to convey either praise or blame,

but merely to express opposition to constituted authority. A book from which notes are excluded naturally makes large demands on the confidence of the reader. For this reason I have deemed it my duty to make no assertions which are not, in my opinion, adequately documented, even as regards, for example, the significance of Dun Aengus, the Gail-Gaelic character of southern Ireland or the original cause of the quarrel between the Earl of Ulster and Walter de Burgh. Perhaps I ought to add that the title of 'Mr.' is reserved for people who are still alive.

MANCHESTER,
31 *December* 1921.

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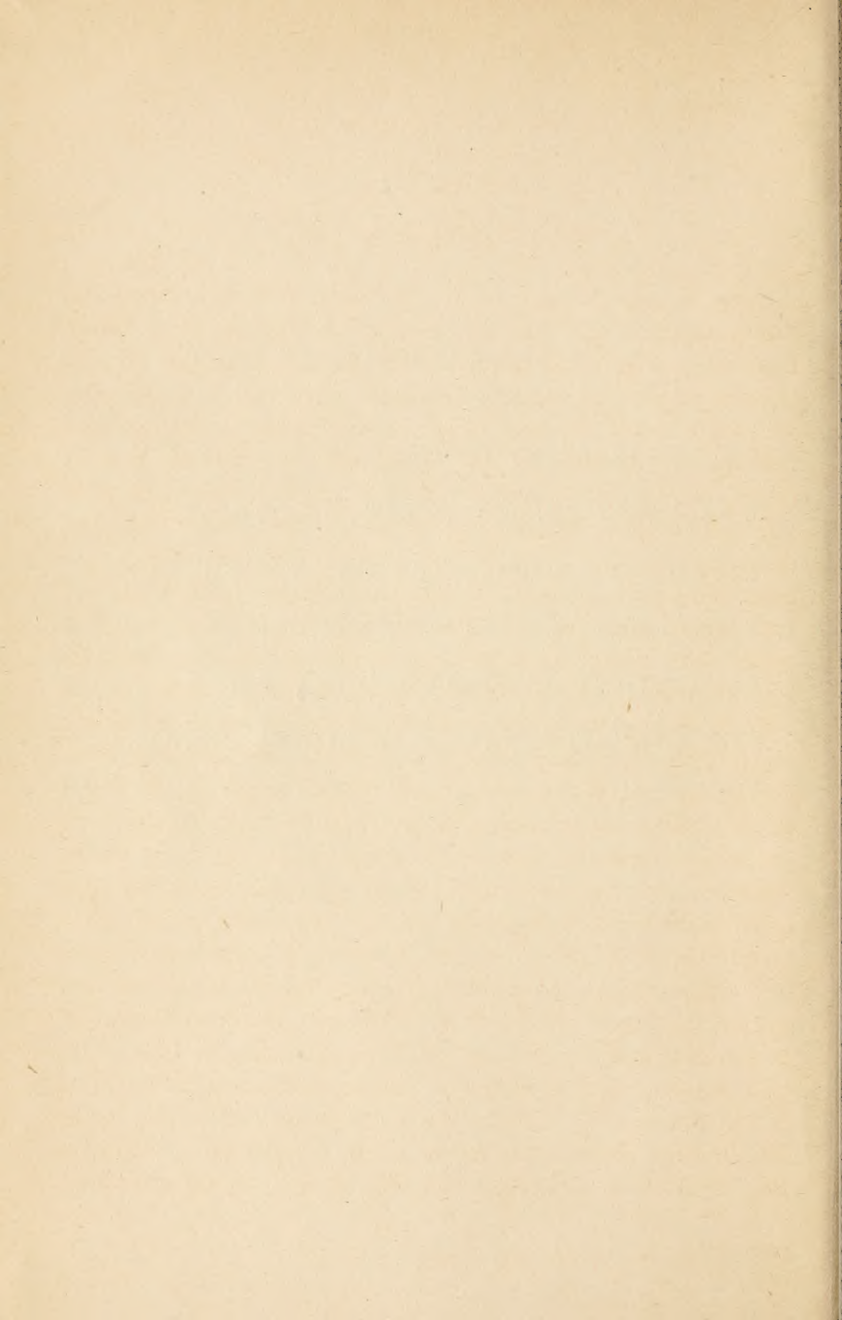

PART I

Celtic Ireland to 1169

Geographical. Ireland lies on the edge of what is called the European platform. She is separated on the east from Great Britain by a narrow and comparatively shallow sea, seldom exceeding fifty fathoms in depth ; but on the west, within thirty miles off Achill Head, the bottom of the sea rapidly sinks from 100 fathoms to oceanic depths. Regarded from above, Ireland resembles a shallow saucer, with a bit chipped out on the east side and another corresponding bit on the west side. Her most distinctive features are the ring of mountains that fringe her coast and her large central plain. Geologically, Ireland falls into two almost equal halves. The dividing line is a low range of gravel hills, stretching from near Dublin to Galway, called in ancient times the Eiscir Riada. North of that dividing line the country displays the same geological conformation as Scotland : south of that line she presents a close affinity with Wales. What coal-measures she possesses are bituminous north of the Eiscir Riada and anthracitic south of it. North of the Eiscir Riada the mountains follow the trend of the Grampians, from south-west to north-east ; south of the Eiscir Riada they trend like those of Wales, east and west. Apart from her mountains, which belong mainly to the palaeozoic system, the most characteristic feature of the country is the great central plain of carboniferous limestone, to the existence of which Ireland owes her extraordinary capacities as a grazing country and also the large extent of her bogs. Out of a total area of twenty-one million acres, five millions are reckoned as waste. Lough Neagh, the largest inland sea in the British Isles, alone accounts for nearly 100,000 acres, while the Bog of Allen is estimated to cover about 150,000 acres. Of

rivers Ireland has a liberal supply. They are mostly broad, sluggish streams, originating in the bogs of the great central plain. From Fair Head in County Antrim to Crow Head in County Kerry Ireland measures 300 miles; from Bloody Foreland in County Donegal to Carnsore Point in County Wexford she measures about 225 miles; her average breadth is about 100 miles. In size Ireland is about two-thirds that of England, exclusive of Wales. At present her mineral wealth is, when compared with that of Great Britain, insignificant; but at one time Ireland was probably the richest gold-producing country in Europe.

Discovery of Ireland. Our earliest information regarding Ireland is derived from a second-rate Roman poet of the name of Rufus Festus Avienus, who lived in the fourth century, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius. But Avienus's *Ora Maritima* is mainly a translation, with some additions, of a Greek work, which in turn was based on a *periplus* or book of voyages of Carthaginian or Phoenician origin. From Avienus we learn that Ireland was called Hiera, which is merely Eriú (from which Erin is derived) with the addition of a mistaken aspirate, leading people to suppose that even in those days Ireland was called the 'sacred island' or νῆσος ἱερά instead of merely νῆσος ἴερα or the island Iera. Besides this Avienus, or his original, tells us that the people of Tartessus or Spain used to carry on a vigorous trade with Iera. In fact everything points to the conclusion that Ireland was discovered by the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians, however, were not, as is generally supposed, a Semitic people. They formed part of a group of peoples, whose centre of civilization was the island of Crete. They were the greatest mariners of the ancient world. Long before Rome was founded they had passed, from their settlements in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, at Tyre and Sidon, beyond the straits of Gibraltar into the Atlantic. Spain with its rich deposits of silver belonged to them, so too did the tin mines on the coast of Cornwall, which they called the Cassiterides. From Cornwall they passed in time to Ireland,

attracted thither by its rich gold-fields, its purple-bearing shells, and the pearl oysters that lined its coasts and fresh-water lakes. Wherever the Phoenicians went they established their factories, generally on some island near the mainland or on some strongly fortified headland. Some of these factories or settlements, like that of Dun Aengus on the Isle of Aran in Galway Bay, are still in existence to testify to the skill and enterprise of these ancient merchant sailors.

Earliest Inhabitants. When the Phoenicians first became acquainted with Ireland the country was populated by a small, dark-haired, and rather long-headed race, of the same type as that of Spain and western France. Generally speaking, the Ernai, as we may call this people, lived by fishing and hunting. They were a peaceful race. Their implements were still only of stone and bone, but they were not without some knowledge of agriculture. They were expert sailors, and could handle their skin and wicker-made coracles with great skill. Probably they had come to Ireland from the Continent in pursuit of the herring, and it is likely that they were the original inhabitants of the country. To-day they form the basic element of its population. After Ireland had long been in the sole possession of the Ernai another set of invaders appeared on the scene. These are the people known in Scotland as the Picts, in England as the Britons, and in Ireland as the Cruithne. They were a tall, well-built race, with reddish hair, blue-grey eyes, and rather round heads. Probably they originally came from the Baltic and very likely they were of Teutonic origin. They had a habit of tattooing their bodies. They were fond of music, especially of the bagpipes; they loved story-telling and were greatly addicted to horse-racing and the chase. Unlike the Ernai, who seem to have lived in small detached groups, the Cruithne possessed a monarchical form of government, resting on a matriarchal basis.

The Coming of the Gael. After the Ernai and Cruithne had long shared Ireland between them a third set of invaders appeared on

the scene. These were the Gael. The Gael are a branch of the great Celtic race which at one time dominated nearly the whole of Europe. The Celtic Empire was one of the largest the world has known, but it was one of the most unstable and short-lived. The Celts were a warlike conquering race. They were few in numbers compared with the peoples they subdued. Their superiority rested not merely on their personal prowess but on the quality of their weapons and especially on their iron sword. But the chief thing to note about the Celts is that, though they loved fighting, they were not exterminators. Their principle of government was based on a system of tribute. 'Tribute-taker', indeed, is said to be the meaning of the word Celt. Wherever the Celts came we seem to hear them say to the people they had conquered, 'Don't be afraid; we are not going to kill you; we are not even going to rob you of your lands: all that we require from you is the payment of tribute—preferably in gold; if not, in kind.' When or how the Celts came to Ireland we cannot precisely say. Tradition asserts that they came directly from Spain and, in this, tradition is probably correct. But there is no reason for believing that any Celt ever set foot in Ireland before the beginning of the third century B.C.

The Gael in Ireland. Once in Ireland the Celts, or as we shall call them, the Gael, gradually made themselves masters of that part of the country that lies between St. George's Channel and the Shannon, which is now represented by the counties of Meath and Westmeath. Their progress was from the first very slow, and it was not till the end of the fourth century that they succeeded in extending their power over the greater part of the island north of the Eiscir Riada. At first the Hill of Tara served as a convenient centre for the Gaelic state; but as the confines of the kingdom expanded and the original dynasty became split up into three main lines, two other capitals arose—the one at Aileach in Ulster, the other at Cruachan in Connaught. Tara, however, always preserved its pre-eminence, and long after it had lost

its political importance it retained its symbolical significance as the head and centre of the Gaelic state. The Féis of Tara was a national festival and to be King of Tara was equivalent, even down to the twelfth century, to being *ardri* or high-king of Ireland. But until the usurpation of that title by Brian Boroimhe no one but a pure Gael had ever held that office. And here it ought to be remarked that the Gaelic kingdom never extended southward much beyond the Eiscir Riada. In course of time the Gaelic language and Gaelic influence spread over the whole island, but neither the O'Briens of Thomond, nor the MacCarthies of Munster, nor the MacMurroughs of Leinster were ever accounted of Gaelic origin in the same sense and degree as were the descendants of Nial of the Nine Hostages. At best they were only half Gael, or as the phrase went Gail-Gael.

Gaelic Constitution. No people have ever displayed greater arrogance in the assertion of their racial superiority than have the Celts. In his own opinion the Gael was a gentleman *par excellence*. Work of a menial sort was a thing he would never soil his hands with. But he knew that if he was to enjoy life he must get others to work for him. The whole Gaelic polity rested on this view of things. In Ireland as on the Continent the Celts made no attempt to extirpate the native population. Except for that portion of it which he directly required for his own use, the Gael was content that the land should remain in the possession of its old proprietors. These became his clients or clansmen, whom he was entitled to spend at his will but whom he was also morally obliged to defend. The head of the state was the *ardri* or high-king. In theory no one but a pure Gael could attain to that dignity; but with that limitation every chief, even of the smallest tribal division, was eligible for the post. The one condition was that he had the power to hold his own against his rivals. The power of the *ardri* rested not merely on his personal valour, but also on his wealth. Wealth consisted chiefly in cattle. If a chieftain had plenty of cattle he could hire them out and so purchase

the obedience of those who took them. Wealth and power thus became convertible terms. In course of time the dignity of *ardrí* was limited by agreement to two families and held by them in alternate succession. The practice made for unity, but after Brian Boroimhe's usurpation, the office of *ardrí* again became the reward of contending chieftains or provincial sovereigns.

Christianization of Ireland. The period of settlement was followed by one of expansion and consolidation. It was a period of almost constant fighting, especially between the north and the south, and Ireland was still in the process of making as a Gaelic state when she was brought within the range of a fresh set of influences. Religion is one of those things that lie at the very bottom of human nature, and the race has still to be discovered that does not possess some dread of the supernatural which constitutes the fundamental element in all religion. What form of religion the earliest inhabitants of Ireland, the Ernai, professed we cannot certainly say, but there can be little doubt that, after they fell under the influence of the Phoenicians, their religion became that which is definitely associated with the erection of megalithic structures such as dolmens, pillar-stones, and stone circles. Two ideas underly this religion—the idea of immortality and the idea of the sun as the generating principle of all things. The system culminated in the worship of Baal. In Ireland the worship of Baal assumed under Celtic influences the form of religion known as Druidism. Ireland was still a heathen country and Druidism was still in full force when St. Patrick landed on the shores of Strangford Lough in 432. It was not the first time that Patrick had been in Ireland. More than thirty years before he had been brought thither as a captive by some marauding Irishmen and sold as a slave to an Antrim farmer of the name of Milchu. After he had herded Milchu's cattle for more than six years Patrick managed to escape and returned to his home and friends. Where that home was situated is still a matter of dispute ; but whether it was in Britain or in France it is certain that it

was in the latter country that Patrick received his education, and that it was a Gallican bishop that consecrated him to the Irish mission. The misdirected piety of Patrick's more immediate biographers has so distorted the facts of his missionary enterprise in Ireland that it is hard to say where truth ends and fiction begins. The outstanding and undisputed fact is that, after long years of labour, he succeeded in converting many of the Irish from Druidism to Christianity, and in establishing a number of Christian communities, of which his church at Armagh was the centre, in the north of Ireland.

Beginnings of Irish Monasticism. Patrick's intention had been to reproduce in Ireland the system of diocesan government that prevailed in the Gallican church ; but that system, resting for its working on the existence of towns, proved ill adapted to Ireland, and shortly after Patrick's death it seemed as if all sign of his missionary enterprise had disappeared. But Patrick had sown better than he wist. In particular his employment of Latin as the language of the Church was of great educative value and became the starting-point of a new school of learning. The movement was greatly advanced by the arrival of crowds of European scholars, monks and others fleeing from the merciless attacks of the Huns. Thanks to the activity of these new arrivals and the intense love of learning inherent in the Gael, Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries became dotted with a number of large schools. The instruction given in such centres of learning as Bangor and Clonmacnoise was no doubt chiefly of a theological sort, but it stimulated the cultivation of Latin and led to the study of the classical writers of Rome. Among those who profited by the new learning was St. Columba. Columba was a pure Gael and a scion of one of the noblest families in Ireland. Being compelled to submit to a sentence of banishment, in expiation of a crime originating in his own passionate disposition, Columba retired with twelve disciples to the island of Hy or Iona in Scotland. From Iona he went to preach the gospel to the Picts of

Caledonia. But here we are chiefly interested in him as the founder of Irish monasticism. Essentially the Columban system was merely the adaptation to the Church of the principles of tribal government. Its distinctive feature was the absolute independence of each individual church or monastic establishment. What the chief was in tribal affairs that the self-constituted abbot was in the affairs of his *muintir* or monastery. His authority rested solely on his personal sanctity and the esteem of his followers. Except for the undefined homage rendered by him to St. Patrick as the head of the Irish Church, he owned no superior and would brook no interference, lay or clerical, in the management of his establishment.

Irish Missions on the Continent. Columba's missionary enterprise among the Picts aroused great interest in Ireland, and among those who were seized with a desire to imitate his example was St. Columban of Bangor. What special reason drew Columban to make France the sphere of his labours we do not know. All that we know is that, having made up his mind to go thither, he established a monastic settlement at a little place called Anegray in the Vosges. France, or rather, as we should call it, the Frankish empire, was at the time divided into the three kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy. Anegray lay on the confines of Austrasia and Burgundy. The sovereign of Burgundy was a man called Gontran; but two years after Columban's arrival Gontran died and his kingdom was united with Austrasia under the nominal government of Childebert, but actually under that of his mother, Queen Brunehaut, whose rivalry with Frédégonde, the wife of King Chilperic of Neustria, furnishes one of the most tragic chapters in Merovingian history. No objection had been taken by either Brunehaut or Gontran to Columban establishing himself at Anegray. The Franks were not heathens in the sense that the Irish and Picts were when Patrick and Columba preached the Gospel to them. Nominally they were, like their sovereigns, Christians. But the Christianity they professed was a savourless

thing, and the Gallican Church itself was in dire need of reformation. Columban's establishment at Anegray and afterwards at Luxeuil was the beginning of a better state of affairs. But the Gallican bishops were annoyed at Columban's popularity. His piety and the austerity of his 'Rule' were a standing reproach to their own laziness and lax morality. At last, by arousing Brunehaut's jealousy, they succeeded in procuring an order for his banishment. But the ship on which he and his companions sailed from Nantes was driven back by contrary winds, and Columban and his monks, stepping once more ashore, made their way from Nantes to Paris. With the good will of the King of Neustria they continued their journey to the Rhine, and thence, following the course of the river, to Lake Constance. Thence, after a time, Columban, leaving one of his best-loved companions, St. Gall, the founder of the famous monastery of that name in Switzerland, behind him, proceeded to Milan. There he succeeded in interesting the King of the Lombards, Agilulf, in his mission, and with Agilulf's permission he established a new monastery at Bobio in the Apennines. In course of time Bobio became one of the most famous Irish foundations on the Continent, and at Bobio Columban passed quietly to his rest on 23 November 615. Columban was perhaps the most learned man in Europe of his time. His 'Rule', which long prevailed in the chief monasteries of the Continent, was remarkable for its severity and the extreme minuteness of its punishments; but Columban himself was a very gentle and lovable character. Columban's mission marks the beginning of a new phase in the history of Irish Christianity. Following in his footsteps, either singly or in little companies of twelve, monk after monk quitted Ireland 'for his soul's sake' or 'the love of God', till Europe was filled with the name and fame of Ireland. But in giving of her best Ireland gained in the knowledge she obtained of European civilization, which even in its decay was superior to anything she herself could boast. To the knowledge she thus acquired was due that remarkable outburst

of literary and artistic activity that marks the history of Ireland from the ninth to the twelfth century.

Union with Rome. Columban was still alive when St. Augustine arrived in England. Augustine's chief object was the conversion of the English. At first sight it may seem strange that, at a time when Irish monks were traversing the length and breadth of Europe, this particular work should have been left to Rome. But if we recall the horrible massacres and plunderings that had marked the conquest of England by the Anglo-Saxons, we shall readily understand the apathy with which the Celts, both of Wales and Ireland, regarded the spiritual welfare of their oppressors. But Augustine had another object in view beside the conversion of the English. It was well known that the Celtic Church differed in many respects, both as regards doctrine and ritual, from Rome. In particular its method of reckoning Easter, without regard to whether it coincided or not with the chief festival of the Jews, was a standing grievance with Romanists. Gregory the Great himself had had some controversy with Columban on the subject, but the latter had bluntly asserted his competence to decide the question as well as Gregory. Unfortunately, after inducing the Welsh bishops to meet him at a place on the Severn, known as 'Augustine's Oak', Augustine, by his rather tactless behaviour, only aggravated the controversy between the two Churches. Augustine's successor, Laurentius, did his best to repair his blunder, but failing to overcome the scruples of the Welsh bishops, he and his colleagues, the bishops of London and Rochester, addressed a joint letter on the subject of union with Rome to the heads of the Irish Church. The letter met with no immediate response, but it formed the subject of much conversation in Ireland, and finally at a meeting of the clergy of the south of Ireland, one of them, Cumine or Cummian by name, declared himself in favour of the proposal. Cummian's attitude rather surprised his brethren and some of them were strongly opposed to him, but in the end it was decided that as regards Easter,

which was the main point in dispute, each one should act as he thought right in the matter. The decision was entirely in keeping with the tribal constitution of the Irish Church. By some the proposal was regarded with favour ; by others, and nowhere more obstinately than at Iona, it was greatly resented. So far as the Celtic Church of Northumbria was concerned the Synod of Whitby in 664 put an end to the discussion ; but it was not till 716 that the last trace of opposition to the Roman method of reckoning Easter disappeared in Ireland. Many years were still to elapse before the Irish Church entirely surrendered her independence, and, indeed, it may be said that, even after her formal incorporation with Rome at the Synod of Cashel in 1172, she maintained a more or less excentric position right down to the sixteenth century.

The Making of Ireland. What interest the history of Ireland possesses for the general reader from the fifth to the ninth century is chiefly connected with the progress made by the Irish Church at home and her influence as a civilizing agent on the Continent. The effect of the close connexion between Ireland and the Continent, established by the Irish missions, was to add to Ireland's importance as a centre of art and learning. But this is a subject with which we are not at present concerned. In political matters the progress made by Ireland during the same period was not so great. Still it was considerable. Roughly speaking, we are able to distinguish three main periods or stages in what we may call the making of Gaelic Ireland—the first extending from the arrival of the Gael down to the reign of King Laeghaire (Leary) when Patrick came to Ireland ; the second from Laeghaire's reign down to the Danish invasions at the beginning of the ninth century ; and the third from the usurpation of Brian Boroimhe down to the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169. The first period, as we have already remarked, is one of settlement and expansion, resulting in the occupation by the Gael of nearly the whole of the country lying to the north of the Eiscir Riada, known as Leith Cuinn or

Conn's-half, and the Gaelicizing of the southern half or Leith Mogha. The second period and that with which we are here chiefly concerned is marked (1) by the establishment of three great divisions of the Gaelic power, centring respectively round Tara, Cruachan, and Aileach, which we may call the kingdoms of Meath, Connaught, and Ulster ; (2) by the subdivision of these kingdoms into a number of clans and a struggle for predominance amongst those clans ; (3) by the exclusion of the Connaught branch from the *ardrí*-ship and a fierce competition between Ulster and Meath or, as they were called, the northern Ui Neill and the southern Ui Neill, for the exclusive possession of the *ardrí*-ship, ending in a compromise, by which each branch was to hold the office alternately. The period is one of constant fighting both between the rival families of the Gael and between Leith Cuinn and Leith Mogha. Towards the close of the period it seemed as if the whole island was going to be brought under the sway of one sovereign in the person of Donnchadha (Donough), the thirtieth *ardrí* in descent from Nial of the Nine Hostages, the father of King Laeghaire, and the progenitor of the Ui Neill. But before this much to be desired result could be achieved Ireland fell a prey to the Danes.

The Danish Invasions. It was in the reign of Donnchadha's successor that the Danes first appeared off the coast of Ireland. It is usual to distinguish between two sets of these so-called Danish invaders, viz. those who came from Norway and are called by Irish writers Fionn Gail (Fingal) or Fair-haired Strangers, and those who came from Denmark proper called the Dubh Gail, or Dark-haired Strangers. In history both are known as the vikings, a word which means simply men of the fjords or bays. Their ships were long canoe-shaped vessels of from about 50 to 100 feet in length and 15 to 20 feet in breadth, capable of holding from forty to sixty men. They were built chiefly for speed, with high bow and stern, and were fitted out as rowing-boats, but being also provided with mast and sail they could easily be turned into

sailing vessels. Next to swiftness their chief advantage was that, being comparatively light, they could readily be transported from one sheet of water to another, and being of shallow draught could be forced up any river of reasonable size. The vikings were a large-limbed, well-built, warlike, and extremely hardy race of men. Their one object was plunder, and being inspired with a fierce hatred and contempt of Christianity they naturally directed their earliest attacks against the rich monasteries that lined the coasts of Scotland and Ireland. Among the first to feel the weight of their sacrilegious hand was St. Columba's famous establishment on Iona. In the beginning the attacks of the vikings were chiefly confined to the islands off the mainland, but as their greed grew with the treasure it fed on, they gradually extended their raids into the interior of the country. As time went on their raids became more frequent, and in 837 a Norseman of the name of Torgils or Turgesius conceived the idea of making himself master of Ireland. The Irish offered what resistance they could, and in 845 the *ardrí*, Melaghlin I, had the good fortune to capture Torgils, whom he promptly drowned in Lough Owel. After Torgil's death many of the Norsemen returned to their own country, and the Irish were beginning to congratulate themselves on having outlived the danger when a fresh body of invaders hove in sight. This time the invaders were really Danes. Their numbers were considerable, and, having wrested Dublin from their predecessors, they made that port the centre of their operations not merely in Ireland but also against England and Scotland.

Struggle for the Possession of Ireland. In course of time the Danes entered into friendly relations with their neighbours, especially the O'Carrolls of Ossory. The result was that after the death of their own king, Ivor, called 'King of the Northmen of all Ireland and Britain', in 873, the Danes of Dublin chose Carrol, lord of Ossory, to rule over them. Carrol's accession was followed by what is called a period of forty years' peace. Of peace in the ordinary sense there was, it is true, little sign, but during

Carrol's reign Ireland was apparently exempt from further attacks on the part of the Danes. Carrol, however, had no sooner died than a fresh body of invaders appeared on the scene. Collectively these newcomers are known as the Ui Ivor or descendants of Ivor, probably of that Ivor who died in 873. Finding Dublin in possession of the Irish, the Ui Ivor effected a landing at Waterford, which now became one of their chief settlements. From Waterford they spread themselves over the whole of Munster, so that, according to the annalists, there was not a house nor a hearth left standing between the Shannon towards the sea. Having brought Munster under their control the Ui Ivor now directed their efforts to recovering Dublin. This they accomplished in 917; but their endeavour to extend their power northward was frustrated by the heroic resistance of the *ardrí*, Nial Blackknee, and his still more famous son Murtough 'of the Leather Cloaks'. Matters had reached this point when a fresh body of Danes succeeded in establishing themselves at Limerick on the Shannon. The possession of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick placed the whole of southern Ireland at the mercy of the Danes. The misery they inflicted on the wretched inhabitants was indescribable. As the old chronicler writes, they had their duns and their forts and their landing-places everywhere so that they made spoil-land and sword-land of the country. They ravaged her chieftainries and her churches and destroyed her reliquaries and tore her books. For a time Murtough 'of the Leather Cloaks' stemmed their attacks in the north, but after his death in 943 the country north and south of the Eiscir Riada fell largely under their control.

Brian Boroimhe's Usurpation. With the capitulation of Mahon O'Kennedy, chief of the Ui Cennidigh of Thomond, it seemed as if further resistance to the Danes was out of the question. But Mahon's brother Brian refused to despair. His followers had dwindled to a mere handful, but with these he kept up a steady guerilla warfare till at last Mahon was forced by his

obstinacy to resume the offensive. In 968 Mahon had the good fortune to defeat the Danes at Sulcoit in County Tipperary, and shortly afterwards he captured Limerick. But his success was regarded with jealousy by his allies, and at the instigation of Ivor and his sons he was treacherously murdered in 976. Mahon's place was instantly filled by Brian and, having punished his brother's murderers, Brian at once set about extending his power over the whole of Leith Mogha. Succeeding in this in 984, he then overran and subdued the province of Connaught. His possession of the whole of Leith Mogha and one province in Leith Cuinn was regarded as entitling him to the *ardrí*-ship, but either because he was unwilling or not prepared as yet to contest the supremacy with Melaghlin II he came to terms with him in 998, on the understanding that they should share the sovereignty of Ireland between them. Perhaps it was that he had already fallen under the influence of that 'fairest of all women', Gormflaith (Gormley), wife of Melaghlin. Anyhow, he shortly afterwards conferred the kingdom of Leinster on Gormflaith's brother Mulmurray and gave his daughter in marriage to her son Sitric, King of Dublin. Such a suitor was hard to resist, and in the end Gormflaith transferred her favours from Melaghlin to Brian. Brian's marriage with Gormflaith was followed by a summons to Melaghlin to surrender the *ardrí*-ship. This Melaghlin, owing to his inability to secure the support of the northern Ui Neill, was compelled to do. Whereupon Brian, with the object of legalizing his usurpation, caused his name and claim to be entered in the *Book of Armagh*. Unfortunately, by this time either he had begun to grow tired of Gormflaith or she of him. Anyhow, about 1010 they separated, and Gormflaith went to live with her brother Mulmurray. Henceforth her one desire was to ruin Brian. To this end she worked hard to sow dissension between him and her brother, and to draw the latter into an alliance with Sitric, King of the Danes of Dublin. Meanwhile, owing perhaps to their mutual grudge against her,

Brian and Melaghlin had entered into an alliance for the purpose of destroying the Danish power at Dublin. Their joint attempt to capture Dublin in 1013 failed, but it was resolved to renew the attempt in the following year.

Battle of Clontarf. Recognizing their common danger, Sitric and Mulmurray employed the interval in enlisting all the mercenary support they could. A secret promise of Gormflaith's hand to Sigurd Lödverson, Earl of Orkney, and also to Brodir, Earl of York, drew both into the alliance, while the mere prospect of unlimited booty attracted a crowd of other hungry vikings to their standard. Shortly before Easter 1014 Brian and Melaghlin, at the head of their respective armies, converged on Dublin, the former taking up his position between the Liffey and the little river Tolka that falls into Dublin Bay at Clontarf; the latter slightly to the north of the Tolka. Both sides were fairly matched, but the benefit of position lay with the Danes and the men of Leinster. The battle began at sunrise on Good Friday, 23 April, and continued the whole day. Towards sunset the Danes began to give way and fell back on their ships. 'Methinks', said Brian's daughter to her husband, Sitric, 'the foreigners have entered on their heritage.' 'What meanest thou by that?' asked Sitric. 'That the foreigners are going into the sea', replied his wife; 'I wonder is it heat that is on them that they tarry not to be milked.' Her sneer angered Sitric and he struck her a heavy blow. But in truth the defeat of the Danes was complete. Such of them as escaped from the field of battle were drowned in the sea before they could reach their ships. The Irish lost almost as heavily as the Danes. Brian himself being too old to take an active part in the battle had passed the day in prayer. When he heard that his son's standard had fallen he gave up the day as lost, and consigning his soul to God and St. Patrick and his body to Armagh he prepared to die. As he was talking to his attendant a party of Danes passed his tent. They were Brodir and two of his followers. Looking into the tent one of them called out

'a priest'. 'No, no!' said the other, 'It is the great King Brian.' Whereupon Brodir turned back and with his battle-axe clove Brian's head in twain.

Consequences of the Battle of Clontarf. The battle of Clontarf is regarded by Irishmen as a great national victory, and so in a sense it was. It did not, as is generally supposed, free Ireland from the Danes. Sitric himself still retained possession of Dublin, and Waterford, Wexford, Cork, and Limerick still remained in the hands of the Danes. But the victory of Clontarf prevented Ireland becoming, like England, a Danish colony. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that at Clontarf there were Irishmen fighting on the side of the Danes, and that none of the northern Ui Neill took part in the battle. In truth the battle of Clontarf was due rather to personal than national causes. But the fact that such a splendid victory, as Clontarf undoubtedly was, had been won under the leadership of one whom every Gael regarded as a usurper was followed by important results. In the first place, by demolishing the fiction that no one who was not directly descended from Nial of the Nine Hostages could aspire to the *ardrí*-ship, it substituted personal merit for the mere claim of birth. Henceforth any one who aspired to become *ardrí* could only achieve his object by crushing his rivals or, as the Irish expressed it, 'with opposition'. This no doubt was unfavourable to the cause of unity, so far as Gaelic hegemony was concerned; but, by widening the basis of the state, it substituted a territorial for a mere tribal principle and thus prepared the way for national unity. That this national unity was never actually or only very imperfectly achieved was due mainly to the obstacles offered by the country itself—its large forests, extensive bogs, primitive roads, and absence of towns. For, no matter how powerful the King of Ulster, or Meath, or Connaught, or Munster, or Leinster might be, his seat of government, whether at Aileach, or Tara, or Cruachan, or Killaloe, or Cashel, or Ferns, was far too remote from the other parts of the country to enable him to exercise

more than a very imperfect control over them. The practice of exacting hostages as a pledge of loyalty no doubt minimized this defect, but it must be admitted that the fear of sacrificing his hostages seldom acted as a permanent check on an ambitious sovereign. All the same there can be no question that during the hundred and fifty years that elapsed between Clontarf and Strongbow's invasion Ireland made considerable progress in the direction of national unity, and but for that invasion might possibly have succeeded in attaining it.

The Re-making of Ireland. At first, however, as was to be expected, the death of Brian Boroimhe in his hour of triumph was followed by a period of disorder. Melaghlin of course seized the opportunity to reassert his position as *ardrí*, but no one paid any attention to him, and after his death in 1022 Ireland, in the quaint language of the annals, was governed ' after the manner of a free state ' : in other words every one acted as he thought fit in his own eyes. With the accession, however, of Brian's grandson, Turlough O'Brien, in 1064, things began to assume a more orderly appearance. Turlough was a strong ruler, and his claim to the *ardrí*-ship seems to have been pretty generally acknowledged by his contemporaries. His death, however, in 1086 was followed by a fierce struggle between his son and successor Murtough O'Brien and Donnell O'Loughlin, head of the northern branch of the Ui Neill. After much fighting O'Loughlin succeeded in 1090 in forcing not only O'Brien but also O'Conor of Connaught and O'Melaghlin of Meath to recognize his supremacy; but in 1097 O'Brien managed to reassert his independence, and having in turn brought O'Conor and O'Melaghlin under his control he again ventured to contest the supremacy with O'Loughlin. The struggle only came to an end with O'Brien's death in 1119. Two years later O'Brien was followed to the grave by O'Loughlin. Their deaths enabled Turlough O'Conor to assert his claim to the *ardrí*-ship; but O'Conor had a strong rival in his father-in-law O'Melaghlin of Meath. Having, however, ousted O'Melaghlin

from his kingdom, O'Conor next directed his attack against the MacCarthies of south Munster. But Cormac MacCarthy proved a tough opponent, and before O'Conor could establish his mastery over Leith Mogha, Turlough O'Brien's grandson joined in the fray. By the united efforts of O'Brien and MacCarthy O'Conor was soon driven into a defensive position and forced to come to terms with O'Melaghlin. This was in 1141. Next year Conor O'Brien died. His death enabled O'Conor to renew his attack on the MacCarthies. This time he had O'Melaghlin's support, but there was no real friendship between them and their rivalry afforded Donnell O'Loughlin's grandson, Murtough, a chance to assert his pretensions to the *ardrí*-ship. Eventually O'Loughlin succeeded in establishing his authority over the greater part of the island, including the Danish kingdom of Dublin ; but it was only after Turlough O'Conor's death in 1156 that he became undisputed *ardrí*. Turlough's successor was Rory O'Conor. Next to O'Loughlin Rory was the most powerful man in Ireland, and after O'Loughlin's death in 1165 he found little difficulty in obtaining a general acknowledgement of his claim as *ardrí*. O'Conor had only been on the throne four years when Ireland was again exposed to the attacks of a fresh set of invaders. But before entering on this epoch it will be well to explain how Ireland was being forced out of her isolated position into the wider sphere of European politics.

Ireland, Rome, and England. The battle of Clontarf, though it removed the danger of Ireland becoming a Danish kingdom, did not secure the expulsion of the Danes. Dublin, Waterford, Limerick still remained in their possession. Their attitude towards the Irish was still one of hostility ; but after Clontarf the character of the Danes underwent a remarkable change. From pirates, bent wholly on the acquisition of plunder, the Danes gradually assumed the manners of peaceful traders. Thanks to their energy in this direction the old commercial relations between Ireland and the Continent, which their invasion had interrupted,

were re-established, and soon a vigorous trade between Dublin and Bristol sprang into existence. More than this, in laying aside their piratical habits the Danes became Christians; but such was their pride of race that they would on no account own any connexion with the Irish Church. Nothing would satisfy them but to enter into communion with the Church in England. Their repugnance to the Irish Church favoured the policy of Lanfranc and the Romanizing party in England of obtaining a closer control over the Church of Ireland. Unfortunately, the tribal character of the Irish Church and the absence of any regular system of diocesan government presented a formidable obstacle to the realization of Lanfranc's plan. The same difficulty was experienced by his successor Anselm, and it was actually to an Irishman of the name of Malachy O'Morgair, commonly called St. Malachy, that a closer assimilation of the ecclesiastical system of Ireland with that of England was due. Malachy's friendship with St. Bernard of Clairvaux, led, as is well known, to the introduction of the Cistercian Order into Ireland and the foundation in 1157 of Mellifont Abbey, the proud precursor, within a few years, of half a score such monasteries. The effect of the establishment of the Cistercian Order in bringing Ireland into closer touch with the Continent, and through the Continent with England, is unquestionable. But of almost greater importance in this respect was Malachy's endeavour to secure a formal recognition from the Papacy of the archiepiscopal claims of Armagh and Cashel, as representing the two main divisions of Leith Cuinn and Leith Mogha, by a grant of the *pallium* to each. Malachy did not live to see the fulfilment of his desire, and it is doubtful if the plan sanctioned by Pope Eugenius, and actually carried into effect at the Synod of Kells in 1151, of including Dublin and Tuam in an equal distribution of the *pallia* with Armagh and Cashel, would have received his approval. The plan no doubt answered the political situation fairly well, but it left the question of the primacy as between the Irish and Danish Church unsettled

and, by confirming the former in its independence, it left room for those irregularities in ritual which were a constant source of annoyance to orthodox churchmen. Three years after the Synod of Kells, Nicholas Breakspear succeeded to the chair of St. Peter as Adrian IV. In conveying Henry's congratulations to him in 1156, his old friend, John of Salisbury, drew Adrian's attention to the deplorable condition of the Church of Ireland, and suggested as a means of weaning the Irish from their 'beastly customs' that Ireland should be brought under the civilizing control of England. The result was that on leaving Rome John of Salisbury carried with him a letter from Adrian to Henry conferring on him the *dominium* of Ireland. The gift was not one that Henry greatly valued. For some time he played with the idea of handing over Ireland to his brother William; but being dissuaded by his mother, the Empress Matilda, from taking this step, he had apparently forgotten all about the matter when it was suddenly recalled to him two years later by the rather dramatic appearance before him of Dermot MacMurrough, ex-King of Leinster.

PART II

The Anglo-Irish Colony, 1169–1541

Henry II and MacMurrough. Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, was the grandson of Dermot 'the son of the nursling of the cow'. In the period following the death of Melaghlin II in 1022, when Ireland was 'ruled after the manner of a free state', Dermot 'of the cow' had succeeded in attaining the rather equivocal position of '*ardrí* with opposition'. It was Dermot's great wish to imitate his ancestor, but with two such powerful rivals in the field as Turlough O'Conor and Murtough O'Loughlin his chance of success was very small. Feeling it to be so Dermot had attached himself to O'Loughlin, and had been rewarded for

his loyalty by a grant of a considerable part of the then derelict kingdom of Meath. The grant brought him into conflict with O'Rourke of Brefny, Turlough O'Conor's henchman, and partly to spite O'Rourke, partly because he had fallen in love with her, Dermot eloped with O'Rourke's wife, Dervorgil. Elopements were in fashion at the time, and had Dermot consented to pay O'Rourke the usual damages to which the law entitled him for such injury nothing more would probably have been heard of his escapade. Trusting, however, to his alliance with O'Loughlin, Dermot refused to pay the fine required from him. Unfortunately for him, O'Loughlin died shortly afterwards and was succeeded as *ardrí* by Rory O'Conor. O'Rourke now called on O'Conor to execute the law against MacMurrough. Possibly if MacMurrough had been a popular sovereign he might have defied O'Conor's attempt to coerce him, but his brutality and wanton cruelty had so alienated the sympathies of his clansmen that, meeting with no support from them, he burnt his capital of Ferns and escaped to England in 1166. At the suggestion apparently of Henry's old friend and man of business, Robert Fitzharding of Bristol, MacMurrough determined to appeal to Henry to assist him in recovering his kingdom. At the time Henry was in France, and it was with some difficulty that Dermot obtained an audience from him. Henry, as we have remarked, was not particularly interested in Ireland; but MacMurrough was importunate, and in the end Henry gave him letters granting such of his subjects as desired to do so permission to assist MacMurrough in recovering his kingdom. Returning to England Dermot was fortunate enough to interest Richard Fitzgilbert, Earl of Clare, commonly called Strongbow, in his case. At Dermot's earnest entreaty, coupled with an offer of his daughter Eva's hand, Strongbow promised his assistance. But as Strongbow was at the time occupied in preparing to escort the Princess Matilda to Germany Dermot applied to the Bishop of St. David's. By the bishop's intervention his brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, the ancestor of the Houses of Kildare and Desmond,

and his near kinsman Robert Fitzstephen, were induced to promise their immediate assistance. Both Maurice and Fitzstephen were of mixed Welsh and Norman blood, being the sons by different fathers of Nesta, the daughter of Rhys ap Twdyr, whose love affairs occupy a considerable place in the *chronique scandaleuse* of the times. The fact that most of the early invaders were of Cambro-Norman descent is of considerable importance for the future course of events.

The Invasion of Ireland. Having thus set things in train MacMurrough slipped back to Ireland in the summer of 1168. It was his intention, pending the arrival of his friends, to lie low and, with the object of putting his enemies off their guard, he at last paid O'Rourke his compensation. But as the year drew to a close without any sign of Fitzstephen and his friends coming, Dermot grew impatient and sent over his secretary to remind them of their promise. At last, at the beginning of May 1169, Fitzstephen and a handful of knights, with their attendant men-at-arms and archers—in all about 1,000 men—landed at Bannow Bay in County Wexford. Being speedily joined by MacMurrough and his levies, the invaders marched directly on Wexford, which was easily captured. After a rather futile and exhausting expedition into Ossory, Fitzstephen and MacMurrough were engaged in recruiting their men near Ferns when O'Conor suddenly swooped down on them. Fortunately they had taken the precaution to entrench themselves securely, and O'Conor, finding it impossible to dislodge them, consented to treat, and on MacMurrough promising not to cross the bounds of his own kingdom and get rid of Fitzstephen as soon as possible, he withdrew into his own country. No sooner, however, had O'Conor withdrawn than Fitzstephen and MacMurrough advanced against Dublin. Taken by surprise Dublin speedily surrendered, and in the hope of making a bid for the *ardrí*-ship MacMurrough wrote pressing letters to Strongbow to come to his assistance. This time his invitation met with a ready response, and as an earnest of his speedy arrival Strongbow

sent over his kinsman, Raymond le Gros, with a small body of knights and about seventy archers. On landing at a little promontory called Baginbun, near Bannow Bay, Raymond was almost immediately attacked by the men of Waterford and the neighbouring Irish. The attack was, however, repelled, and Raymond managed to maintain his position till the arrival a few weeks later of Strongbow himself with 200 knights and 1,000 men-at-arms. Landing at Passage on 23 August 1170, Strongbow two days later stormed Waterford, and amid the smouldering ashes of the town he married MacMurrough's daughter Eva. A day or two later he and MacMurrough set out for Dublin, in consequence of a report that the citizens of that place, animated by the presence of O'Conor, had once more thrown off their allegiance to MacMurrough. Cutting directly across the Wicklow mountains Strongbow succeeded in recovering Dublin almost without a blow. MacMurrough's chance had apparently come at last, and, disregarding O'Conor's warning that he would put his hostages to death if he passed the limits of his kingdom, he invaded O'Rourke's country. The damage he inflicted was considerable, but O'Conor was as good as his word and MacMurrough, returning to Ferns, was engaged in forming fresh plans of vengeance when he suddenly died.

Henry II and Strongbow. MacMurrough's death, unexpected though it was, found Strongbow fully prepared to assert his right as his successor. Legally, as resting entirely on his marriage with MacMurrough's daughter, his claim from an Irish standpoint was utterly invalid. Failing heirs male of his own, MacMurrough's legitimate successor was his brother's son, Murtough. But Murtough, though he possessed the suffrages of his clan and could count on O'Conor's support, was no match for Strongbow. Unfortunately for Strongbow, his extraordinary success had aroused Henry's jealous apprehensions, and a sudden embargo placed on all ships leaving England threatened to deprive him of those reinforcements which O'Conor's reappearance before

Dublin rendered at this moment most essential. The situation called for speedy action, and leaving Fitzstephen to keep an eye on Wexford, Strongbow returned post-haste to Dublin. The town was ill-prepared to stand a siege, and as the pinch of hunger began to be felt and no succour arrived from England, Strongbow determined to cut his way out or perish in the attempt. The manœuvre was crowned with complete success, and once more O'Conor was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. The situation, however, continued critical, and acting on Mountmorres's advice Strongbow crossed over to England. Meeting Henry as he was just about to embark for Ireland Strongbow endeavoured, by a timely surrender of his possessions, to avert the king's wrath. His submissive attitude mollified Henry, but Henry was too occupied with his own affairs to pay him much attention at the time. The murder of Becket had proved a terrible misfortune to him, and Henry's one desire was to put the sea between him and the emissaries of the Pope as quickly as possible. Once in Ireland he hoped to find some means of appeasing Alexander's wrath.

Henry in Ireland. Taking Strongbow with him Henry landed near Waterford on 17 October 1171 at the head of an army sufficiently imposing to break down any opposition that he might encounter. But Irishmen were apparently only too anxious to submit to him, and, before leaving Waterford, Henry issued orders for the speedy holding of a synod of the Irish Church at Cashel, partly no doubt with the object of fulfilling the terms of Adrian's grant, partly in the hope of providing himself with the means of placating Alexander's wrath. From Waterford Henry proceeded to Dublin. His journey northwards resembled a triumphal progress and, being received by the citizens of Dublin with open arms, he endeavoured by every means in his power, and especially by the commercial privileges he conferred on them, to conciliate their affections. Christmas was celebrated in high style, and the lavish arrangements he made for their entertainment astonished and delighted his new subjects. Neither

O'Conor nor any of the Ui Neill graced the proceedings with their presence. But their absence, though it disappointed Henry, did not alarm him. At the time he was more concerned in curtailing Strongbow's powers for mischief. The situation called for careful handling. For the nonce it seemed a sufficient precaution to retain Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford in his own hands, and by conferring the derelict kingdom of Meath on De Lacy to raise up a formidable rival to Strongbow. This done, and the Decrees of the Council of Cashel having been duly transmitted to him, Henry, after entrusting the government of the country to De Lacy, sailed for England about the middle of April 1172.

Henry II's Irish Policy. Henry's anticipation that in view of the Decrees of the Council of Cashel, establishing conformity in doctrine and discipline between the Church of Ireland and that of England, Alexander would make no difficulty in condoning his offence proved correct. But the question what he should do with Ireland, now that his possession of it had been confirmed by the Pope, greatly perplexed him. He had made no conquest of the island. Neither O'Conor nor the Ui Neill had submitted to him. The attitude of the former and his pretensions as *ardrí* he recognized seriously affected his own position. Looking at the matter from his own standpoint and with his limited knowledge of what constituted an Irish *ardri*, Henry's policy was at first directed to obtaining from O'Conor a recognition of his own feudal superiority implied in the title of *Dominus Hiberniae.* Eventually, after a good deal of coaxing, O'Conor was persuaded in 1175 to consent to the terms embodied in what is called the Treaty of Windsor. By the terms of this treaty O'Conor's claim to the kingdom of Connaught and to the services of his vassals or *urrighs* was to undergo no diminution so long as he and they continued faithful in their allegiance to the King of England, and, as an acknowledgement of their duty, paid an annual tribute of one merchantable hide in every ten 'as well from Connaught as the rest of the island,

except those parts under the immediate dominion of the King and his barons'. Unfortunately for the success of his plan, Henry soon discovered that O'Conor's position was that not of a feudal sovereign but merely of a provincial chieftain, whose claim to supremacy rested entirely on his ability to enforce its recognition. The discovery compelled Henry to make a fresh start. This time he determined to transfer the *dominium* of Ireland to his youngest son, John. His intention was made known at a council at Oxford in 1177; but at the time John was only a boy of ten and too young for such a responsible post.

Progress of the Invaders. Meanwhile, owing to the absence of any effectual control on the part of the Crown, the invaders were carrying matters with a high hand. Their methods of land-grabbing were none of the gentlest. In 1173 there was a rising of the O'Briens and MacCarthies in Munster, followed by an attempt on the part of the citizens of Waterford to throw off their allegiance. Both risings were suppressed, but their suppression furnished opportunity for further inroads on the Irish. Strongbow died in 1176. His sole heiress was his daughter Isabella, aged five. Fearing complications, Henry appointed Fitzaudelin Justiciar, and at the same time sent over John de Courcy, Robert Fitzstephen, and Miles de Cogan to assist him in preserving order and taking possession of all Strongbow's castles. The business was soon settled, and De Courcy, growing tired of his enforced inactivity, determined to cut out a principality for himself. In December he suddenly invaded Uladh, or what we may call little Ulster, and having defeated the chieftain of that district, MacDunlevy, near Downpatrick, he speedily made himself master of that part of Ulster now represented by County Down. De Courcy's success encouraged his companion-in-arms, De Cogan, to make a similar attempt in Connaught; but O'Conor proved too strong for him, and being compelled to beat a hasty retreat he and Fitzstephen directed their attention to Munster. There they were more successful, and in a short

time made themselves masters of a large sweep of lands near Cork. In this way nearly the whole of Ireland lying to the east of a line drawn from Fair Head to Cape Clear had passed into the possession of the invaders when John landed at Waterford on 24 April 1185.

John's First Visit to Ireland. It was much against his will that John obeyed his father's command to make himself acquainted with the country of which he had now been made the virtual sovereign. For himself he would much sooner have taken part in one of those crusades to Palestine so much in vogue at the time. So, too, would his youthful companions. Their discontent found outlet in unmannerly behaviour towards those Irish chieftains who came, as in duty bound, to pay their respects to their new sovereign. But it was not the Irish alone who had to complain of the insulting conduct of John and his companions. Nothing that De Lacy and those best acquainted with the country suggested found favour in John's eyes. Large scopes of land in Munster and Connaught were given away by him to Theobald Butler, Philip de Braose, and William de Burgh without any regard to the impolicy of those grants in themselves or to the enormous expense entailed by the military expeditions necessary to make them good. Even the most indulgent of fathers could not overlook such misconduct, and, after running riot for eight months, John was recalled in disgrace. But Henry's anger was short-lived. He was still determined to make John King of Ireland, and was busy with his preparations for the latter's coronation when death overtook him.

The Crown and the Baronage. Richard's accession did not affect John's position as *Dominus Hiberniae*, but his long-continued absence from England disinclined the latter from taking any active interest in Irish affairs. The result was that for more than twenty years (1187–1210) Ireland was allowed to go her own way, with consequences that were satisfactory neither to the Crown nor to the Irish. During the greater part of this period the justiciarship rested at first in the hands of De Courcy, afterwards

in those of Meiler Fitzhenry. There is no question that De Courcy merely used his office to promote his own interests and that the forces of the Crown were more often employed in extorting land from the Irish than in preserving order. Fitzhenry was not open to the same charge, and on the whole he showed himself strongly opposed to such proceedings. But his position was a difficult one, and his refusal to co-operate in plundering the Irish was constantly bringing him into conflict with De Courcy or De Burgh or the brothers Walter and Hugh de Lacy. In the end De Courcy was forcibly deprived of his principality. As a reward for his assistance in expelling him, John conferred the lordship of Down, together with the title of Earl of Ulster, on Hugh de Lacy. The reward turned De Lacy's head. From defying the Justiciar he and his brother Walter, who had inherited the lordship of Meath, gradually assumed an attitude of rebellion. Worse than this, they joined hands with John's personal enemy De Braose. The suspected complicity of William Marshal, who by his marriage with Strongbow's daughter Isabella had succeeded to the kingdom of Leinster, brought matters to a climax. Recognizing the seriousness of the situation and exasperated beyond measure at De Braose's scandalous imputation of his complicity in Arthur's murder, John determined to go to Ireland himself.

John's Second Visit to Ireland. Landing at Waterford on 20 June 1210 at the head of a large army and instructing the fleet to attend his march along the coast, John posted northward in pursuit of the De Lacies and Braose. At Dublin an attempt was made to induce him to draw a distinction between Walter and Hugh de Lacy in favour of the former, but refusing to do so, John, after a brief rest, continued his march northwards. At Carlingford, hearing that the De Lacies and their allies were preparing to make a stand at Dundrum, he divided his forces, and, while one detachment was ordered to proceed round the coast by land, he with the other embarked on the fleet, with the

object of exposing them to a concentric attack. It was a well-conceived plan, but before he could effect a landing at Ardglass the rebels had got wind of his intention and withdrawn to Carrickfergus. Thither John hurried after them, but before he could invest the place the De Lacies and Braose had escaped to Scotland, whence they shortly afterwards made their way to France. His quarry had escaped him; but the rebellion was at an end, and returning to Dublin John set to work to systematically reduce the country to order. This time there was to be no mistake as to his determination not merely to restore the authority of the Crown but to effect a thorough reformation of administration. To this end all that part of the country which had actually or nominally passed into the hands of the invaders was to be reduced to shire-ground; law courts were to be established at Dublin; itinerant justices appointed; and the tenures by which the land was held subjected to a thorough revision. As for the Irish, those of them who submitted were to be taken under the protection of the Crown, and the privileges of the English laws extended to the five principal septs of the O'Conors, O'Neills, O'Briens, O'Melaghlins, and MacMurroughs. English historians are reluctant to admit that John had any good qualities, and their views have affected the estimate formed of his character by Irish historians. But there is no ground to question John's political abilities. Certainly during the nine weeks he spent in Ireland he displayed an extraordinary grasp of the difficult nature of the situation as it affected the relations of the Crown, the colonists, and the Irish to each other. By the administrative measures he adopted he not merely laid the foundation of the future prosperity of the colony, but by his conciliatory attitude so won upon the affections of his subjects that when his own authority was menaced in England the Irish barons to a man ranged themselves on his side. The mischief was that he did not and could not provide for a personal supervision by the Crown of the working of his plan. Left to themselves during the long minority of Henry III, the

Irish barons resumed their old schemes of aggrandisement at the expense both of the Crown and the Irish.

Conquest of Connaught. The period immediately following the accession of Henry III (1216) was one of comparative tranquillity. Recognizing how much they owed to John's personal intervention, the Irish barons were at first anxious to secure the permanent residence in their midst of a member of the royal family. Their request that either the Queen-Dowager or the King's brother should reside in Dublin was unfortunately ignored; but during the governorship of William Marshal Ireland enjoyed comparatively peaceful days and was admitted to the benefits of Magna Carta. But William Marshal died in 1219, and his death was almost directly followed by an armed attempt on the part of Hugh de Lacy to recover his possessions in Ulster. The attempt was frustrated; but eventually on his submission De Lacy was restored for his lifetime to his lands and dignities. Hardly, however, had the De Lacy business been settled than disturbances broke out in Connaught. The acquisition of that province had long been an object of desire to the De Burghs. William de Burgh, who had come over to Ireland with John in 1185, had received a permission (grant it can hardly be called) to make himself master of as much of it as he could. The attempt had naturally entailed a good deal of fighting, but in the end a settlement had been arrived at whereby on the death of Cathal 'of the red hand', Rory O'Conor's brother and successor, Connaught, with the exception of certain lands reserved for the Crown about Athlone, was to be divided into two very unequal parts, of which the larger was to pass to Richard de Burgh, William's son, and the smaller to Cathal's successor. Cathal died in 1224. His death was followed by a struggle for the chieftainship between his sons Hugh and Felim and the sons of Rory O'Conor. Eventually, with De Burgh's assistance, Hugh succeeded in making good his claim. The time was now deemed to have arrived for putting the deed of partition into execution. But Hugh proved recalcitrant

and a fresh war ensued. Finally Hugh was killed, and after some more fighting the chieftainship was secured by Hugh's brother Felim. The question of the partition was again raised, but Felim proving as stubborn on that point as Hugh had been he was arrested and imprisoned in Meelick Castle. Believing himself to be master of the situation De Burgh was preparing to put his grant into execution when the sudden downfall of his kinsman, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, Henry's all-powerful minister, led to a complete reversal of the situation. Not only was Felim restored to liberty, but his restoration was accompanied by express orders to the Justiciar to root out 'that fruitless sycamore, De Burgh, which the Earl of Kent in the insolency of his power had planted in those parts'. But Felim's triumph was short-lived. Kent's downfall had been the work of Henry's Poitevin favourites and in particular of Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. Almost as obnoxious to Peter as the Earl of Kent was the son of the great William Marshal, Richard, who by the death of his brother William had recently succeeded to the vast estate acquired by Strongbow in Leinster. Richard Marshal was a stone of stumbling to Peter des Roches, and, in order to remove him from his path, Peter set on foot a conspiracy, in which Henry was suspected to have had a share, which ended in Richard's murder in Ireland. The murder aroused widespread indignation, and in order to divert suspicion from himself Henry not only dismissed his Poitevin favourites but restored the Earl of Kent to his former honours with the added dignity of Justiciar of Ireland. Kent's restoration in 1234 led naturally to a revival of De Burgh's pretensions in Connaught and to a renewal of the war between him and Felim O'Conor. In 1236 Felim was forced to capitulate, and therewith to surrender the greater part of what is now the counties of Galway, Mayo, Leitrim, and Sligo. The acquisition of all this territory by De Burgh was followed by a large influx of English settlers into those parts and the erection of numerous castles.

Futile Efforts of the Irish to Resist the Invaders. The tussle between De Burgh and O'Conor had been a sharp one, and but for the assistance rendered him by the Justiciar, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Hugh de Lacy, it might not have terminated so successfully for De Burgh as it did. As a reward for his help De Burgh conferred a grant on De Lacy of what practically amounted to the whole of County Leitrim and half of County Sligo. In turn De Lacy made a grant to Fitzgerald of the baronies of Carbury and Leyney in County Sligo. At this point the temptation to invade Ulster proved irresistible, and, by pursuing the same methods that had secured Connaught for De Burgh, De Lacy and Fitzgerald succeeded in getting a footing in what is now the counties of Donegal and Fermanagh. Seeing how matters were going and how powerless they were to resist the invaders, the Irish of Ulster, we are told, 'came to the conclusion that, as the English in Ireland had at the time the ascendancy over the Irish it would be advisable to give them hostages and to make peace with them for the sake of the country'. This pusillanimous decision was satisfactory to neither Brian O'Neill nor Felim O'Conor's nephew, Turlough, nor Teige O'Brien of Thomond, surnamed Caoluisce. The first to raise the standard of revolt was Turlough O'Conor; but after causing much damage to the English settlers in Connaught Turlough's rebellion was suppressed by Jordan d'Exeter and Turlough himself driven into exile. His place was taken by Felim's son Hugh, but instead of rushing blindly into rebellion Hugh entered into an alliance with Teige Caoluisce and Brian O'Neill. The object of the alliance was the expulsion of the English from Connaught and Ulster. In order to secure united action it was agreed 'to confer the sovereignty over the Irish' on O'Neill. But before the allies could move Teige Caoluisce died, and an attempt on the part of O'Neill and O'Conor to expel the English settlers in Down in 1260 ended in their defeat and the death of O'Neill at the battle of Druimdearg near Downpatrick. Meanwhile the English,

notably the Fitzgeralds, had been pushing their way into the heart of Munster. There, too, their aggressions stimulated counter action; but the MacCarthies, whose territory was chiefly aimed at, were divided amongst themselves, and, despite the heroic resistance of certain members of the clan, the Fitzgeralds, backed by the forces of the Crown, gradually succeeded in getting possession of the most fertile parts of Munster. Thus by the close of the thirteenth century the greater part of Ireland had actually or nominally passed into the hands of the invaders.

Impolitic Treatment of the Irish. Enough has been said as to the methods by which the Irish were deprived of their lands. Generally speaking, there was at first no attempt on the part of the invaders to extirpate the native population. Most of the chiefs who did not fall in battle had to submit to a great curtailment of their territory and influence. Of their clansmen many passed into the service of the newcomers either as tenants-at-will or *betagii*. Unfortunately, as time went on and the resistance of the Irish assumed a more determined character and revolt followed revolt, the attitude of the English towards them became increasingly hostile. From regarding them merely with disdain the English began to treat the Irish as little better than wild animals, till at last the latter, seeing themselves liable to be killed for the slightest offence while their oppressors came off scot-free, began to clamour for more equal treatment. From a letter from Edward I to the Justiciar about 1277 we learn that a number of them, calling themselves 'the Irish community', had offered to pay 8,000 marks in order to be admitted to the privileges of the English laws. Edward himself was willing enough to grant their request, but the colonists would apparently hear nothing of it. The consequences of their short-sighted policy can never be sufficiently deplored. For, as one of their most candid critics, Sir John Davies, asks, how was it possible, as long as the Irish were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without control, that they

should be other than outlaws and enemies to the Crown of England ?

Growing Prosperity of the Colony. Of the rapid development of the colony during the thirteenth century, partly in consequence of the administrative reforms effected by John, partly owing to increased immigration, there can be no question. Historians, with their eyes fixed on the fighting that was almost constantly going on in Connaught and Munster, are apt to ignore the progress that was being made in what was called ‘ the land of peace ’. Dublin, Cork, Waterford were growing rapidly in size and population. Everywhere in Leinster and Meath new towns and hamlets were springing up under the sheltering care of the castles erected for their protection. The laws were carefully administered. Property was secure. As population increased and the country became more settled, roads sprang into existence, bridges were built and passes cut through the dense woods that impeded communication and rendered travelling dangerous. With improved methods of cultivation the returns from the soil grew heavier and the landlord's rent-rolls longer year by year. Living was cheap : food abundant. Here and there manufactories were springing up, but the wealth of the country consisted in its raw products—corn, wool, hides, salted beef and pork, fish, tallow, timber, furs, &c. With increase of wealth came a demand for all sorts of foreign luxuries—silks, wines, spices, &c. Italian merchants and Italian bankers were not slow to take advantage of the situation to establish business connexions in the country. Towards the close of Edward I's reign, which may be taken to represent the highest point of prosperity, the receipts from the great new custom amounted in two years to nearly £3,000 or in present-day values to over £50,000. For all this prosperity the country had in the first place to thank the industry of the new settlers. The mischief of it was that, before the foundations had been well laid, the stability of the structure was imperilled by Edward I's senseless attempts to subjugate Scotland.

Irish Parliament Established. In view of the threatening attitude of the Scots, following on the conclusion of a league between them and France, Edward I in 1295 entrusted the government of Ireland to one of his most capable officials, John de Wogan. De Wogan's instructions were to raise 10,000 foot and as many horse soldiers for service next year in Scotland. The men were raised and joined the King's standard at Roxburgh in May 1296. But they arrived too late to take part in the battle of Dunbar, and the difficulty attending their levy and equipment constrained De Wogan on his return to Ireland to call a meeting in 1297 of the Great Council of the realm to effect a general reform in administration. To this end, in addition to the chief magnates, both lay and clerical, to which such assemblies had hitherto been restricted, De Wogan caused writs to be issued to the sheriffs of the counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Connaught, and Roscommon and the seneschals of the liberties of Meath, Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny, and Ulster to cause two of the most honest and discreet knights of the several counties and liberties to be elected, to act in behalf of the whole community of each county and liberty. The assembly so summoned passed a number of useful laws for the removal of certain anomalies arising out of the rather haphazard fashion in which the country had been shired. But in consequence of fresh demands on the part of the Crown for further financial and military assistance, De Wogan summoned another assembly of the realm in April 1300 to which, in addition to the prelates and magnates of the land, 'the communities of the counties' and likewise 'the communities of the cities and boroughs' were required to send representatives. But it was not till 1310 that the system of representative government was fully established and Ireland obtained a parliament of her own. Nothing in the original constitution of the Irish Parliament formally excluded Irishmen from sitting in it; but, as all the wealth and influence of the country rested in the hands of the English settlers, it was inevitable

that they alone would be consulted on matters of taxation. The acquisition of a parliament came at a time when the English colony was at its zenith. What might have happened had nothing occurred to interfere with its progress and the complete subjection of the Irish, as at that time seemed not merely possible but probable, we cannot say. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of the Scots' invasion and other untoward events, the colony began to decline, with the result that its Parliament became more and more a close corporation from which the Irish were, as the enemies of the colonists, rigorously excluded. This exclusion lasted practically till the reign of James I when, after the power of the Irish had been broken, all classes of the population were taken under the King's protection and accredited with equal rights. But there can be little doubt that the refusal of the colonists to admit the Irish to the benefit of the English laws and their exclusion, whether intentional or accidental, from representation in Parliament, were fatal not merely to a better understanding between both races but to the prosperity of the colony itself in a greater degree than even the Scots' invasion.

The Scots' Invasion. Be this as it may, historians are agreed in ascribing the decline of the colony primarily to the disastrous effects of Edward Bruce's invasion in 1315. There is no reason to question the correctness of the view that Bruce's invasion was an act of retaliation for Edward I's repeated invasions of Scotland. The idea that it was the result of a special application on the part of the Irish to Bruce to assist them in throwing off the English yoke rests on a misunderstanding of what is called the Remonstrance of the Irish to Pope John XXII. That Remonstrance belongs to the year 1318, and was intended as a justification of the Irish in abjuring their allegiance to their feudal lord. Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert, landed near Larne on 26 May 1315 at the head of about 6,000 men. Pushing his way southwards, and breaking down what resistance he encountered, Bruce had reached Ardee, at the end of June, when the news that the

Justiciar, Sir Edmund Butler, and the Earl of Ulster, having joined forces, were rapidly advancing against him, compelled him to retreat. With the evident intention of luring the English army into the densely wooded district about Armagh, Bruce, at the instance of O'Neill, took the road to the west of Lough Neagh. But, grasping his intention, the Earl of Ulster followed rapidly by the road to the east of the Lough, with the object of cutting off Bruce's retreat at the Bridge of Toome. Finding on his arrival there that the bridge had been broken down and that Ulster was waiting for him on the other side of the Bann, Bruce continued his march northward in the hope of finding a ford lower down the river and thus reaching his base at Carrickfergus. But his plan was foiled by Ulster, who, by keeping pace with him on the Antrim side of the Bann, succeeded, as he believed, in cooping him up between the Bann and Lough Foyle. Thinking that his escape was impossible Ulster sat down to wait the progress of events near Ballymoney. Contrary, however, to his expectations, Bruce managed to cross the Bann near Coleraine and, suddenly falling on the Earl at Conagher, practically annihilated his army. After this victory Bruce's course was clear, and having received reinforcements from Scotland he once more directed his march southwards. Near Kells he was confronted by a considerable army under the command of Roger Mortimer; but Mortimer's hastily collected levies were no match for Bruce's veterans, and after an easy victory Bruce continued his march. By the end of January 1316 he had reached Athy in County Kildare, and was busily engaged in plundering the country thereabouts when he encountered a fresh army under the conduct of the Justiciar, Sir Edmund Butler. But once more the fortune of war decided in his favour, and meeting with no further opposition he shortly afterwards returned to Dundalk, where he caused himself to be crowned King of Ireland on 1 May 1316.

Mischievous Effects of Bruce's Invasion. Meanwhile the Irish, encouraged by Bruce's success, were eagerly trying to recover

the lands of which they had been robbed. Connaught in particular was in full revolt under Felim O'Conor; but there the English had the good fortune to find a capable leader in Richard de Bermingham. On 10 August the Irish army was defeated with great slaughter and O'Conor himself killed at the battle of Athenry. Shortly before Christmas Bruce was joined by his brother Robert with fresh reinforcements, and early in the following year the Scottish army, numbering close on 20,000 men, advanced southward on a fresh marauding expedition. Dublin was saved by the foresight and skill of its mayor, Robert Notingham, but the havoc committed by the Scots on their march southwards to Limerick and on their return through the midlands was frightful. Scarcely a house or a farmstead was left standing. The damage done was in many cases irreparable. So recklessly indeed was the country plundered that the Scots themselves, on returning to their head-quarters in County Down, were reduced to such extremities that, for want of bread, they were compelled to consume their dead. In May 1317 Robert Bruce returned to Scotland; but the difficulty of provisioning his army obliged Edward to remain inactive for the remainder of that year and the greater part of 1318. Fortunately the harvest of 1318 proved a good one and, what was equally important, an early one. Fortunately, too, the English by this time had secured a competent leader in John de Bermingham, the brother of the victor of Athenry, so that when Bruce, on resuming operations in the autumn, advanced as far as Faughart near Dundalk, he found himself confronted by an enemy larger in numbers and as well prepared as he was himself. Prudence counselled him to avoid giving battle, but constant success had rendered Bruce reckless, and at Faughart on 14 October 1318 his army was cut to pieces and he himself killed. Commenting on his death the Irish annalists remark that 'no deed had been performed in Ireland for a long time before from which greater benefit accrued to the country than this.'

Murder of the Earl of Louth. Unfortunately the Scots' invasion was only the beginning of a series of misfortunes which were to lead step by step to the downfall of the colony. It was only to be expected that in the fierce competition for land which marked the progress of the invasion frequent quarrels should have arisen among the invaders themselves. The acquisition of the earldom of Ulster by the De Burghs in addition to their extensive possessions in Connaught was a sore point with the Fitzgeralds, and the cause of a fierce controversy which required all De Wogan's diplomatic skill to settle. The divisions and subdivisions of the great lordship of Leinster among the descendants of William Marshal were productive of endless disputes. But there were other quarrels unconnected with the land which were equally mischievous in their results. Of these two—the one resulting in the murder of John de Bermingham, created Earl of Louth for his victory at Faughart, the other leading to the murder of the Earl of Ulster—call for special notice. The chain of events that led to the murder of the Earl of Louth and other members of his family began probably with the acquisition of the liberty of Trim by Roger Mortimer, through his marriage with Joan de Geynville; but it was the favour shown by Edward II to the earl after the battle of Faughart that was chiefly responsible for what followed. Louth was devotedly attached to Edward II and when, in consequence of Edward's deposition, Mortimer seized the regency, Louth exerted himself to prevent his authority or that of his Justiciar being recognized in Ireland till after Edward's death. The insult was one that Mortimer never forgave, and it was apparently at his suggestion that Louth and several other members of his family were inveigled to Braganstown Castle and there foully murdered in June 1329. Certain it is that, though Mortimer was at the time at the height of his power, no attempt was made to punish the perpetrators of the deed, but on the contrary a free pardon was granted them. The immediate consequence of Louth's murder was that the Irish in the Marches,

being no longer kept under control by his strong hand, took to pillaging the English districts. Their example was followed by the O'Tooles of Wicklow and the MacMurroughs and other septs in Wexford. The Justiciar, John Darcy, finding himself unable to suppress them, invited the Earl of Desmond to help him. This Desmond readily consented to do, and with the assistance of O'Brien Ara order of some sort was restored in the central districts. But Desmond's employment of Irish assistance grated on the feelings of the colonists, and his levying of coyne and livery, or in other words his quartering soldiers on the English inhabitants, was roundly condemned as an abominable precedent.

Murder of the Earl of Ulster. But disastrous as were the consequences of Louth's murder, they were small as compared with those resulting from the murder a year or two later of the Earl of Ulster. By his marriage with the King's cousin Matilda, daughter of Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, William de Burgh, though barely fourteen when he succeeded to the vast estates of his grandfather in Connaught and Ulster and only twenty-one when he was murdered, was far the most powerful nobleman in Ireland. Hitherto harmony had prevailed to an extraordinary degree among the members of the De Burgh family, and might have continued to do so had not the too familiar relations between the young countess and her kinsman by marriage, Sir Walter de Burgh, aroused the jealousy of the earl to such an extent that, having got hold of Walter, he caused him to be starved to death in the castle of Northburgh, now Greencastle, in Inishowen. The brutal deed was bitterly resented by Sir Walter's brother, Sir Edmund, and his sister, Gille, the wife of Richard de Mandeville, and by Gille's contrivance the earl was waylaid and murdered near Carrickfergus in June 1333. Five years later Sir Edmund happened to fall in with the earl's uncle, likewise called Edmund, who had been a main instrument in Sir Walter's death, and without more ado drowned him in Lough Mask. Except for the earl's infant daughter, Sir Edmund was now

the head of the De Burghs; but recognizing that he had by his conduct put himself outside the King's mercy he obeyed his natural instincts, and having publicly renounced his allegiance he changed his name from De Burgh to Burke and openly assumed the position of an Irish chief. Sir Edmund's example was followed by all his kith and kin and by nearly all the English settlers in Connaught, so that, as the Irish Parliament complained to Edward in 1341, more than one-third of the country formerly in the possession of the Crown, together with the castles of Roscommon, Randon, Athlone, and Bunratty, had in that short space of time passed into the hands of the Irish.

Efforts to Arrest the Decline of the Colony. Probably the loss of territory would have affected Edward less had it not entailed a diminution of revenue at a time when he was hard pressed to find the sinews for his war in France. The failure of the Irish Parliament to respond adequately to his repeated demands greatly annoyed him, and compelled him much against his will to consent to certain administrative reforms required by the colonists. But the compulsion he was under irritated him, and when the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360 afforded him leisure to devote himself to Ireland, he determined to read the colonists a sharp lesson. In Edward's opinion the decay of the colony was primarily due to the degeneracy of the colonists themselves and to the habit, growing daily stronger with them, of adopting the manners, dress, and language of the Irish. From his point of view there was nothing exceptional in De Burgh's conduct. What was wanted was a strong infusion of good English blood and a hard and fast line being drawn between the colonists and the natives. Then no doubt the colony would recover its pristine vigour. The person he chose to carry out his plan of reform was his third son, Lionel Duke of Clarence. Lionel was a young man, barely twenty-two years of age, profoundly impressed with his own importance. As the husband of the daughter and heiress of the late Earl of Ulster he was personally interested in re-estab-

lishing the authority of the Crown. But his efforts in this direction were not very successful. After vainly endeavouring to enforce the submission of the Irish in the immediate vicinity of Dublin and to recover possession of his wife's estate in Ulster, he held a Parliament at Kilkenny in 1366. The Parliament of Kilkenny has left its mark deeply engraved on the history of Ireland. Its enactments under thirty-six heads, known collectively as the Statute of Kilkenny, were directed (1) to prevent those habits of intercourse between the colonists and natives which, in Edward's opinion, were undermining the national character of the colony and weakening the authority of the Crown ; and (2) to reform those abuses which were sapping the strength of the colony itself, such as the levying of private war, the exaction of coyne and livery, and in general the inefficient administration of justice. The significance of the Statute of Kilkenny, especially as regards the prevention of intercourse between the colonists and natives, has been the subject of much controversy ; but it is clear that, whether it was purely defensive in its purpose or indicated an arrogant contempt of the Irish, its efficacy depended entirely on the power of Government to enforce it.

Continued Decline of the Colony. But of strong government in Ireland there was during the remainder of Edward's reign little sign. The office of Justiciar was no longer one of sufficient emolument to attract capable Englishmen. Sir Richard Pembridge, to whom it was offered at one time, declined it on the ground that it was tantamount to being exiled. Under Sir William de Windsor, the complaisant husband of Edward's mistress, Alice Perrers, who held it, as a reward for his infamy, almost continuously from 1369 to 1376, with the title of Lord Lieutenant, the office was practically a sinecure. The appointment of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who had large interests of his own in the country, as Lord Lieutenant in 1379 promised a revival of energetic government. But March died suddenly in December 1381, and his almost immediate successor, Philip de

Courtenay (1383–5), not possessing March's influence and private means, was forced to revert to the pernicious custom of quartering his army on the inhabitants. The objection of the colonists to coyne and livery was deep rooted, and a Parliament that met at Dublin in 1385 passed a resolution to the effect that nothing could save the country from absolute ruin but the presence of the King or that of the greatest and most trustworthy lord of England. The appeal met with a ready response from Richard II, and shortly afterwards he conferred the government of Ireland on his favourite, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, with almost royal powers and the title of Duke of Dublin. But De Vere never went to Ireland, and, the distress of the colonists increasing owing to the repeated inroads of the Irish and particularly of Art MacMurrough, claiming to be King of Leinster, into their territory, Richard determined to go to Ireland himself.

Richard II in Ireland. Richard landed at Waterford in October 1394 at the head of a large army and immediately proceeded to Dublin. His arrival in the capital was hailed with satisfaction by the colonists, and even the Irish were so far impressed by his authority that several of their more important chiefs appeared at court and tendered their submission. Even the redoubtable Art MacMurrough, though at first inclined to be defiant, thought it prudent to follow their example. MacMurrough's submission was followed by that of O'Neill, and it actually seemed as if Richard, as he wrote boastingly to the English Council, was on the point of re-establishing the authority of the Crown when he was suddenly recalled to England. The good effects of his visit were unequivocal. Unfortunately, they were almost immediately undone by a foolish attempt on the part of the Earl of March, whom he had appointed his viceroy, to arrest MacMurrough. In trying to retrieve his failure, March was shortly afterwards killed in a border foray and Richard, partly in order to avenge his death, partly, as he hoped, to complete the reduction of Ireland, landed once more at Waterford with an army numbering,

it is said, 20,000 men in May 1399. Richard's first object was to punish MacMurrough. But that chieftain, scenting his purpose, immediately took to his woods. The attempt to catch him failed, and after an exhausting chase, which nearly cost him his army, Richard eventually reached Dublin in safety. His defeat had, however, only whetted his desire for revenge, and he was busily engaged in preparing for a fresh attack on MacMurrough 'as soon as the leaves were off the trees' when the news that his rival, Henry of Lancaster, had landed at Ravenspur obliged him to return to England to defend his crown. Richard II was the last English sovereign to visit Ireland till James II sought refuge there nearly three centuries later. The fact has often been noted; but attention needs to be drawn to the bad effects which the neglect of the Crown in this particular has had on the relations between the two countries.

Discontent of the Colonists. With the departure of Richard the colonists were once more left to their own devices. Richard's efforts to improve their condition had greatly won on their affections, and their feelings towards the new dynasty were consequently not over friendly. Neither Henry IV nor Henry V displayed much interest in Ireland. The government of the country was naturally entrusted to some member of their party. The Earl of Ormond, as a large Irish proprietor himself, was personally concerned in checking disorder, but neither the Scropes, nor Stanleys, nor Talbots were greatly interested in promoting the welfare of the country. As a rule their inability to maintain an adequate force for the repression of the Irish without resorting to the pernicious custom of quartering their soldiers on the country was continually bringing them into conflict with the Irish Parliament. Talbot in particular was a principal offender in this respect, and his resentment at the attitude taken up by the Earl of Ormond in the matter led to a fierce quarrel between them. To allay it the government was in 1423 transferred to the Earl of March. March's appointment

was no doubt á contrivance of his enemies to remove him from the immediate vicinity of Henry VI; but it was hailed with satisfaction by the colonists, and the submission of O'Neill and other Irish chieftains seemed to promise a return to a better state of affairs. Unfortunately, March died suddenly of the plague, and with the reappointment of Talbot things reverted to their former condition. Of the period immediately following Talbot's reappointment (1427–49) it is sufficient to say that no matter to whom the government was entrusted we are confronted with the same tale of predatory raids of the Irish into the English districts, of futile punitive expeditions, of 'black-rents' more willingly paid by the English farmers in the Marches to the Irish than the coyne and livery exacted from them for their defence by Government, of years of famine and recurrent visitations of the plague, leading to increased poverty, emigration, absenteeism, and the accelerated decline of the colony.

Colonists assert their Independence. The appointment of Richard Duke of York in December 1447 as Lord Lieutenant for a period of ten years, was, like that of March, a political manœuvre on the part of the Lancastrians, headed by the Duke of Suffolk, to remove their chief opponent from court. York's appointment gratified the colonists, but there was at first no sign of any intention on his part to use his popularity to promote his designs on the Crown. For one thing his resources were very limited, and before he had time to remedy matters in this respect he was recalled to England by events arising out of the murder of the Duke of Suffolk and Jack Cade's insurrection. On leaving Ireland York committed the government of the country to the Earl of Ormond. Ormond's tenure of office was marked by an unusual display of energy, but in 1452 Ormond died. His death was followed by fresh inroads of the Irish into the English districts. To put an end if possible to these sudden attacks permission was granted by Parliament in 1454 to certain gentlemen in the counties of Meath, Louth, Kildare, and Dublin to employ forced

labour to dig a dike or trench round the English district. The trench thus ordered to be dug marks the bounds of what is henceforward known as the English Pale. Further measures to provide against the attacks of the Irish, by fortifying the bridges over the Liffey and guarding the main approaches to the city, were taken during the deputyship of the Earl of Kildare. Kildare was still in office when the colony was thrown into a violent state of excitement by the sudden arrival in 1459 of the Duke of York in an attitude of open rebellion to the Crown. York's arrival was hailed with applause by the colonists. They had long been growing weary of their continued neglect by the sovereigns of the House of Lancaster and were themselves ripe for revolt. At a parliament held next year by York, resolutions were passed confirming the duke in his office of Lord Lieutenant; asserting the independence of the Irish Parliament; recalling all grants of lands made since Henry VI's accession; devoting all rents arising from the estates of habitual absentees to the defence of the country; establishing a mint at Dublin and another at Trim to coin money for Ireland distinct from that of England; rendering it compulsory on every individual possessing a yearly income of £20 to provide a mounted archer properly equipped for war after the English fashion and assigning a small tax on fish and other imports for the benefit of owners of vessels who assisted in guarding the narrow seas from French and other pirates. At the beginning of September York returned to England with the intention of making good his claim to the Crown. The battle of Wakefield put an end to his hopes and to his life at the same time; but his defeat was shortly afterwards avenged at Towton, and on 28 June 1461 York's eldest son Edward was crowned King of England.

Increasing Danger of Separation. The accession of Edward IV promised at first to lessen the growing estrangement between England and Ireland. For the nonce, at any rate, Edward was content to leave the government of Ireland in the hands of the

Geraldines. The Earl of Desmond, who succeeded to the deputyship in 1463, had earned his gratitude by the vigorous fashion in which he had suppressed the Lancastrian party, headed by the Earl of Ormond, in Ireland, and apparently there was no better friend to the connexion than Desmond. Certainly no more drastic laws had ever been passed in any parliament in Ireland to maintain the English character of the colony than those enacted in that held by him in 1465. Possibly, however, Desmond was not so loyal as he affected to be. Anyhow, as time went on he became suspected of a design to make himself independent, and in 1467 he was superseded by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. Worcester certainly believed in Desmond's disloyalty, and having, as he thought, obtained evidence of his intention, with Kildare's assistance, to make himself king of Ireland, he arrested and executed him without even the formality of a trial. Worcester's hasty action did not improve the relations between the Crown and the colonists, and in order to pacify the latter Edward shortly afterwards transferred the government to the Earl of Kildare. It was a foolish step on his part, for of Kildare's intention to make himself virtual king of Ireland there can be little doubt. Of recent years it had become the custom of the leading gentry of the Pale to meet together in an armed association for their own defence against the attacks of the Irish. The custom was legalized by Parliament in 1465, and shortly afterwards a 'fraternity of arms', called the Fraternity of St. George, consisting of thirteen of the leading gentlemen of the Pale, was established at Dublin. Though probably as good a plan as, in the circumstances, could be devised to preserve order in the Pale, the Fraternity of St. George, being composed entirely of Kildare's friends and followers, aroused Edward's suspicions, and in 1475 he removed Kildare from office. Two years later Kildare died; but it was not easy to find a suitable successor to him. William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, on whom the King's choice first fell, was indignantly rejected by the colonists, and an attempt to force

Lord Grey of Ruthin on them led to a revolt which was suppressed with difficulty. The fact is, the colonists were tired of being ruled by Englishmen and insisted on being governed by one of themselves. Finally, in 1478, Edward gave way, and with the appointment of Gerald eighth Earl of Kildare as deputy to his younger son, Richard Duke of York, the struggle between him and the colonists came to an end. Henceforth, so far as Edward was concerned, Ireland was to be allowed to go her own way.

Kildare's Ambition. Contemporary writers described Gerald eighth Earl of Kildare as a mighty man of valour, of small wit and no learning, ' being rudely brought up according to the usage of the country ', but of a naturally shrewd disposition and a jovial temperament. From the outset it was Kildare's intention, following the example of his father, to make himself master of Ireland. His object he clearly saw could only be attained by establishing friendly relations between the Irish on the one hand and the gentry of the Pale on the other. His own rôle would be that of mediator between them, as patron of the Irish and protector of the English. So far as obtaining control over the Irish went his father had pointed the way by marrying his daughter, Gerald's sister, to Henry O'Neill. Naturally such a system of intermarriages to be really effectual implied a large family. Fortunately Kildare's family was commensurate with the demands made on it by his policy. Of his five daughters by his first wife Joan married her cousin Con Mór O'Neill, the father of Con Bacagh first Earl of Tyrone ; Margaret married Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond ; Eustacia married Ulick Burke of Clanricard ; Elizabeth married Christopher Lord Slane ; Eleanor married (1) Donnell MacCarthy Reagh and (2) Manus O'Donnell Lord of Tirconnell. Of his seven sons by his second wife Henry became the foster-son of Hugh Roe O'Donnell ; James married a daughter of the White Knight ; Oliver the daughter of O'Conor Faly ; Richard a daughter of Darcy of Platin ; Walter a daughter of Lord Dunsany. In this way there was hardly a family of any

importance in Ireland that was not brought within the range of Kildare's personal influence. That this influence was exerted to enhance his own power goes without saying. But in 1478 this was only, as the Germans say, *Zukunftsmusik*, or a matter for the future. At the time of his appointment as deputy to the Duke of York Kildare was barely twenty-five.

Henry VII and Kildare. So long as the House of York held its own in England Kildare's position was secure; but with the accession of Henry VII in 1485 the situation became once more critical. Fortunately for Kildare, however, Henry's own position was too precarious to allow of any energetic interference on his part in Ireland. The opportunity was seized by Kildare to join a conspiracy to re-establish the Yorkist dynasty set on foot by Edward IV's younger sister Margaret, Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy. Towards the close of 1486 a youth of obscure birth, named Lambert Simnel, personating the son of Edward IV's younger brother, George Duke of Clarence, arrived in Ireland from the Continent. Here he was shortly afterwards joined by the Earl of Lincoln, son of Edward IV's elder sister Elizabeth, Lord Lovel, who had already essayed a rising in behalf of the House of York, and a number of German mercenaries under the command of an experienced leader named Martin Schwarz. In May 1487 Simnel was with Kildare's assent and connivance crowned King of England as Edward VI in Christchurch, Dublin. A week or two later he and his supporters, including the Earl of Kildare's brother, Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, crossed over to England, but meeting with no support there they were utterly routed by Henry at Stoke on 16 June. Of the leaders Lincoln, Fitzgerald, Schwarz, and probably Lord Lovel were killed on the field of battle. Simnel himself was taken alive and afterwards, in derision of his claim, made a scullion in Henry's kitchen. Though under no delusion as to Kildare's complicity in the plot, Henry at first exhibited no ill-will against him. But a year later, finding himself able to take stronger measures, he sent over Sir Richard Edge-

combe with instructions to insist on Kildare's absolute submission. But without an adequate army to back up his commission Edgecombe was powerless to enforce compliance with Henry's demand. The earl and his friends were willing, they declared, to give a general assurance of their loyalty, but rather than bind themselves to unconditional obedience, they threatened to throw in their lot with the Irish. Edgecombe was wise enough not to press matters, and professing himself satisfied with their promise he extended the King's forgiveness to them. Next year Kildare and the principal magnates of the Pale were persuaded to visit London. They were hospitably entertained by Henry, but at a banquet given in their honour he took the opportunity to administer a sharp rebuke to them by making their quondam king, Simnel, wait on them at table. The situation, however, continued uncertain, and hearing early in 1492 that another impostor of the name of Perkin Warbeck had been warmly entertained by the Earl of Desmond, Henry took the occasion to remove Kildare from office and sent over Sir Edward Poynings as deputy.

Poynings' Legislation. Poynings landed at Howth on 13 October 1494 at the head of a small army, together with several English judges and other officials. Henry's intention to re-establish Ireland in a position of dependence on England was not lost on Kildare, and a plot was speedily formed to kidnap the deputy during a campaign in Ulster. The plot was frustrated owing to the vigilance of the Earl of Ormond, and Kildare having been arrested and sent to England Poynings called a Parliament at Drogheda in December. During the last hundred years or so Ireland, or rather the English colony in Ireland, had, as we have seen, been gradually drifting into an attitude of antagonism to England. The cause of that antagonism was mainly the neglect of the Crown, especially since the death of Richard II, to provide for the defence of the colony. So intense was the annoyance of the colonists that they had in 1460 gone so far as to assert their legislative independence. In taking this step they were probably

less desirous of cutting the connexion with England than anxious to demonstrate their loyalty to the House of York. But it was inevitable that as the colony fell more under the personal control of the Earl of Kildare the Irish Parliament should have sunk more and more to the level of a mere machine for registering Kildare's decrees. This was bad in itself, as the Butlers knew to their cost; but the matter assumed a far more serious complexion when the Irish Parliament carried its subserviency so far as to recognize an impostor like Simnel as sovereign. It was the main object of Poynings' legislation to prevent such conduct on its part in the future. To this end, therefore, it was enacted that no parliament should henceforth be summoned in Ireland without the King's knowledge and previous consent, and that no measures should be submitted to it until they had first been approved by the King and Council in England. In thus putting a bridle on the Irish Parliament there was apparently no intention on Henry's part to diminish its legitimate sphere of action. Rather, on the contrary, to protect its independence against such scheming viceroys as the Earl of Kildare. The danger was that the Crown, on finding itself able to regulate legislation in this easy way, might be tempted to misuse its powers. This, as we know, was what actually happened. But at the time there can be little doubt that Poynings' Law, as these enactments were called, was received with satisfaction by the colonists.

Ireland under Kildare. Having thus, as he believed, clipped Kildare's claws for mischief, Henry, shortly after Poynings' return in January 1496, reappointed Kildare to his old post. His reappointment was a bitter disappointment to his enemies. All Ireland, they protested, could not rule the earl. Probably Henry was of their opinion; but ruling Ireland was an expensive business, and Henry had no money for costly experiments. If all Ireland could not rule the earl, then the earl should rule all Ireland. Generosity was not a marked feature in Henry's character; but he had taken Kildare's measure fairly well. To make loyalty

easier to him he gave him his first cousin Elizabeth St. John to supply the place of the wife he had just lost. At the same time he detained his eldest son Gerald in London. Henry had no reason to regret his decision. For the rest of his life Kildare gave him no cause for uneasiness. Indeed, so satisfied was Henry with his behaviour that when Kildare visited England in 1503 he allowed him, as a mark of his confidence, to take back his son with him. Left to himself Kildare ruled Ireland with a firm and fairly impartial hand. Thanks to the family connexions he had established, his authority was not only acknowledged but appealed to by both English and Irish. Naturally his own interests came first with him, but on the whole he manifested a laudable desire not to fish in troubled waters and to use his influence in composing rather than in fomenting dissensions. It is not always easy to distinguish between public and private interests. In his intervention between the O'Neills of Clannaboy and those of Tyrone Kildare was no doubt influenced by his alliance with the latter, and there is every reason to believe that his expedition against Ulick Burke of Clanricard, which resulted in the latter's defeat at the battle of Cnoc Tuagh or Hill of Axes, was dictated less by reasons of state than a desire to punish Ulick for his ill-treatment of his wife, Kildare's daughter. Still, his management of affairs was approved by Henry. In 1505 he was rewarded with the Garter and, as a special sign of confidence, he was permitted three years later to hold a Parliament at Dublin, when a subsidy of thirteen shillings and fourpence on every 120 acres of arable land in the four counties of the Pale was voted for eight years. With Henry VIII Kildare's relations were as friendly as they had been with Henry VII. The necessity he was under of suppressing fresh disturbances among the O'Neills of Clannaboy and of conducting an expedition into Munster alone prevented him visiting England. But so well had he managed matters that his death in 1513 caused no alteration in the friendly attitude of Henry towards his family. His son Gerald, the ninth earl, slipped

easily into his shoes, and being confirmed by Henry in his office of deputy he crossed over to England in June 1515 to report personally on the situation. His report was graciously received, and as a sign of the King's confidence he was authorized to hold a parliament for the purpose mainly of renewing the subsidy granted in 1508.

Kildare and Wolsey. There is no question that under the rule of the Kildares—father and son—Ireland had enjoyed fairly peaceful days. The antagonism between Irish and English in Ireland still, it is true, continued, and the latter were by no means satisfied with their cramped position in the Pale; but, thanks to the mediating influence of the Earls of Kildare, the attitude of the two races towards each other was no longer so fiercely hostile as it had been. A few more years of such government might have witnessed a further improvement in that respect and have led to a gradual assimilation between them. Unfortunately the success of the system rested on the predominance of Kildare, and Kildare's predominance was satisfactory neither to Wolsey nor the Butlers. Hitherto Kildare had been on fairly good terms with his brother-in-law Sir Piers Butler; but on the accession of the latter to the earldom of Ormond in 1515 a coolness had sprung up between them, and in 1518 Ormond preferred a formal charge of maladministration against him, in consequence of which Kildare was summoned to England. The investigation of the charge was committed to Wolsey; but for some reason or other Wolsey postponed the inquiry, and in the meantime Kildare was detained in honourable confinement. Apparently Wolsey regarded Kildare's autocratic position in Ireland as derogatory to the supremacy of the Crown. But behind this more or less sentimental objection lay a feeling that, should the temptation arise, Kildare was in the position to damage England very materially. Everything depended on his loyalty, and of his loyalty Wolsey was suspicious. In the end it was decided to keep Kildare in England and to send over the Earl of Surrey with full powers

to examine affairs on the spot and to effect a thorough reformation of the country.

Surrey in Ireland. Surrey arrived in Dublin on 23 May 1520. His visit lasted little over a year, and during that time he interviewed nearly every man of importance in the country. The result of his inquiry was to convince him that Ireland could 'never be brought to good order and due subjection but only by conquest'. It would be an expensive business; but if Henry was prepared to go through with the work, there were two ways by which it might be accomplished. First, he might undertake the conquest of the country bit by bit, in which case he would require an army of at least 2,500 men for a number of years. Secondly, he might attempt a general 'conquest in divers places at one time', in which case he would need to maintain an army of 6,000 men for an indefinite period. Ireland, he reminded Henry, was five times larger than Wales, and it had taken Edward I ten years to conquer that country. But, and this was the gist of his advice, whatever course was pursued, the conquest would be merely transitory in its effects unless it was followed by a plantation of the country with loyal Englishmen. Conquest followed by colonization was Surrey's suggested solution of the Irish problem, and it is interesting to observe that, though his suggestion was not acted on by Henry, it was the plan that was ultimately adopted.

Restoration of Kildare. Surrey left Ireland in the summer of 1521. His successor was the Earl of Ormond; but Ormond's influence was insufficient to enable him to carry on the government, and after vainly endeavouring to effect a reconciliation between him and Kildare, Henry reappointed the latter deputy in August 1524. But little by little, in consequence of Henry's foreign policy, Ireland was being drawn within the vortex of European politics. From 1525 onwards rumours of French intrigues, extending, it was believed, to a formal alliance between Francis I and the Earl of Desmond, with the object of detaching Ireland from England, grew more persistent. Reports of Kildare's

complicity in the conspiracy were sedulously transmitted to the King by Ormond, with the result that in 1527 Kildare was again summoned to England and eventually confined to the Tower. But, as usual, Kildare's absence from Ireland was followed by a recrudescence of disorder, and in 1529 Henry, acting on Wolsey's advice, transferred the government to Sir William Skeffington. But whether it was that Kildare had succeeded in interesting Anne Boleyn in his case or in convincing the Earl of Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, of his innocence, he was, shortly after Skeffington's departure, allowed to return to Ireland. The natural result of this absurd arrangement was that he and Skeffington were soon at loggerheads with each other, and once more Kildare was recalled to London. But this time he had no longer Wolsey to fear, and with Anne on his side he managed not merely to exculpate himself from the charges preferred against him but also to obtain Skeffington's removal and his own reappointment as deputy in 1532.

Downfall of the House of Kildare. Rendered reckless by his success, it was not long before Kildare was again called to account for his behaviour. Taking advantage of the permission accorded him to appoint a temporary substitute, Kildare transferred the government to his son Thomas and sailed for England in 1534. This time he had not Anne to fall back on, and his explanations being voted unsatisfactory by the Council he was again confined to the Tower. His health was bad at the time, and a rumour, premature as it proved, of his death reaching Ireland, his son Thomas, disregarding the advice of his friends, publicly renounced his allegiance and went, as the Irish say, 'on his keeping'. The terror inspired by his proceedings was indescribable, but owing to the hostile attitude of the citizens of Dublin he was unable to obtain possession of the Castle and was thus deprived of one of his main chances of success. A few months later Skeffington, accompanied by Sir William Brereton, with a strong train of artillery arrived in Ireland. Some time elapsed before Skeffington could take the

field, and it was not till 14 March 1535 that he was able to sit down before Kildare's principal castle of Maynooth. The place was defended by Thomas's foster-brother, Christopher Paris; but after a sharp bombardment it was compelled to surrender. Paris and twenty-five of the garrison were at once executed 'for the dread and example of others'. The severity of the punishment was unexpected, and the 'pardon of Maynooth' became henceforth a proverbial expression for the gallows. Meanwhile Earl Thomas, as he now was by the death of his father, having collected about 7,000 men had ventured to risk a battle with Brereton near Naas. Being defeated he fled to Thomond with the intention of escaping to Spain. But being dissuaded from taking this course by O'Brien he managed with his assistance and that of his brother-in-law, O'Conor Faly, to keep up a resistance for several months longer. In the end, however, seeing defeat inevitable, he took advantage of the arrival of his relative Lord Leonard Gray as marshal of the army to tender his submission. In his desire to end the war as quickly as possible, Gray consented to mediate for him, and a week or two later he had the satisfaction of carrying him over to England. The condition implied in his surrender was by no means pleasing to Henry, but feeling himself unable to altogether disregard it, he contented himself at the time with ordering Kildare's strict imprisonment in the Tower. During Gray's absence in England Skeffington had been busily occupied in crushing out the last vestiges of the rebellion, and he was still engaged in doing so when death overtook him on the last day of December 1535. The day following his death Gray was appointed deputy-governor pending Henry's approval, and this being shortly afterwards received, Gray, in accordance with his instructions, caused Earl Thomas's five uncles James, Oliver, Richard, John, and Walter Fitzgerald to be arrested and sent to England.

The Reformation Parliament. Gray's next step was to call a parliament. The Parliament, which met at Dublin on 1 May

1536 and, after several adjournments, concluded its sittings on 20 December 1537, was called for the express purpose of bringing Ireland into line with England as regards the Reformation. Not that there was any demand in Ireland for a change in religion. The motives to such a demand were entirely wanting. Heresy had never found any footing in the country. The Statute Book, it is true, was liberally provided with legislative enactments, copied from that of England, to cope with it should the occasion to do so arise, but hitherto there had, with one or two rare exceptions, been no call to put them in practice. Nowhere, and least of all amongst the Irish of English descent, was there any desire to break with Rome. Politically Rome had always been on their side. Outside the Pale the prevailing note was one of indifference. In Ireland the Reformation merely amounted to the substitution of the royal supremacy for that of the pope in ecclesiastical matters and the transference from the papal to the royal treasury of certain sources of revenue. No serious objection was apparently taken to these measures in the House of Commons, but in the Upper House, where the spiritual lords possessed a compact majority, the Supremacy Bill encountered fierce opposition, which it required all the authority of Government, backed by the strenuous advocacy of the newly appointed Archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, to overcome. Following the formal adoption of the Reformation came the dissolution of the religious houses and the confiscation of monastic property. Here again the van of progress, if destruction unaccompanied by any effort at reconstruction deserves to be called progress, was led by George Browne. No doubt Browne himself was a sincere reformer, but in Ireland his reforming zeal was entirely misplaced. No one, as we have said, had any quarrel with Rome. The veneration of saints and images might possibly be, as Browne insisted it was, a ridiculous habit, but the destruction of the famous statue of Our Lady of Trim and the equally venerated Staff of St. Patrick only served to irritate people without in any

way advancing the cause of religion. The dissolution of the monasteries, though profitable to a number of individuals, was, considering the part played by them in the social life of the country as centres of education and places of accommodation for travellers, little short of a national misfortune. Altogether the Reformation in Ireland was effected in such a way as to confer a very questionable benefit at the expense of much discomfort to the country. Unsupplemented by any attempt to provide a zealous and resident ministry, it was the fruitful source of much evil.

PART III

Conquest and Plantation, 1541–1641

Henry VIII and Ireland. Meanwhile Henry had taken a momentous step in another direction. On 3 May 1537 Earl Thomas and his five uncles were executed at Tyburn. The terror inspired in Ireland by the destruction of nearly every male member of the Kildare family was indescribable, and Henry was strongly urged by the Irish Council to take advantage of it to effect a radical reform of the country. The difficulty was to decide what course to pursue. Neither Henry nor his advisers knew much about Ireland. In order to assist him in arriving at a right decision Henry appointed a commission, presided over by Sir Anthony St. Leger, to consider 'the order and establishment to be taken and made touching the whole state of our land of Ireland . . . both for the reduction of the said land to a due civility and obedience and the advancement of the public weal of the same'. Some time necessarily elapsed before the Commission could report, and it was not till the summer of 1541 that Henry was in a position to take the first step in his new policy by entrusting the management of affairs to St. Leger. As head of the Commission of inquiry St. Leger had acquired

a more intimate knowledge of Ireland than most Englishmen possessed. Like Surrey, he was entirely of opinion that a permanent settlement of the country could only be effected by planting it with English colonists. But Henry, like his father, had no money to spare for costly experiments, and St. Leger was fain to content himself with endeavouring to win a general recognition of the royal supremacy in temporal as well as in spiritual matters. This he hoped to do by gradually substituting the English system of land tenure for that generally prevailing among the Irish. To effect his purpose he saw that he might either deal directly with the individual members of the clan or with their respective chiefs. The result in the first case would be the establishment of a number of freeholders under the Crown as tenants-in-chief; in the second, the recognition of the chief as feudal owner of the land occupied by his clan, with a consequent lowering of the status of the clansmen to the rank of simple tenants. Of the superior advantages of the former plan there could be no question; but it was equally apparent that it could only be put into operation where the power of the Crown was sufficient to overcome the reluctance of the chief to surrender his immemorial privileges. The result was that while St. Leger was prepared to treat such powerful chieftains as O'Neill, or O'Donnell, or O'Brien as feudal owners he was resolved to insist on the complete renunciation of all claims to independence on the part of heads of smaller clans, especially in the immediate vicinity of Dublin.

Policy of 'peaceable ways and amiable persuasions'. Considerable progress had been made by St. Leger in the direction of a settlement on these lines when Parliament met at Dublin on 16 June 1541. The Parliament had been called mainly for the purpose of sanctioning an alteration in the royal title. Henceforth the King of England was to be King also of Ireland, and not, as he had hitherto merely been, Lord of Ireland. The alteration of title had been rendered necessary by Henry's repudiation of the papal supremacy. For clearly, after having broken with

Rome, it would never have done to admit that his claim to hold Ireland rested solely on Adrian's donation. Henceforth Ireland was to belong to England by right of the sword and the power of the stronger to impose its will on the weaker. Needless to say that the Bill sanctioning the alteration of title was passed with absolute unanimity. But of greater interest than the Bill itself was the character of the assembly to which it was submitted. Unlike former Parliaments, that of 1541 was not restricted to the representatives of the English colony. In pursuance of his policy of feudalizing Ireland, St. Leger, in addition to the usual writs, had caused invitations to be addressed to the principal Irish chieftains to grace Parliament with their presence. Among those who accepted the invitation and were present at the opening of Parliament were, we are told, 'the great O'Reilly, the deputies of the great O'Brien and many other Irish chieftains'. Further, it is to be noted that the proceedings were conducted both in Irish and in English. Unfortunately, amongst those who were conspicuous by their absence were the heads of the two principal clans in the north of Ireland—O'Neill and O'Donnell. No sooner accordingly had Parliament been prorogued than St. Leger set out to visit them himself. By the intervention of O'Reilly he had an interview with Manus O'Donnell on the borders of Tirconnell, and was so charmed by that chieftain's demeanour that, on O'Donnell's agreeing to renounce the Pope's supremacy, to hold his lands (or those of his clan) directly under the Crown and to attend parliament, when summoned to do so, either in person or by proxy, St. Leger promised to take him under the King's special favour and protection. O'Neill was more difficult to come at, and it was only after his country had been harried three times that he consented to subscribe to the terms agreed to by O'Donnell. Next year, however, he was persuaded to visit London, and, being created Earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII, he was allowed to nominate his putative son Mathew, created at the same time Baron of Dungannon, his successor. O'Neill's

submission, and above all his visit to England (a thing unheard of in the annals of his clan), made a great impression on the Irish, and in St. Leger's opinion warranted the belief that, if nothing unforeseen happened, Ireland in a short time would be almost as peaceable and well ordered as England.

Failure of Henry's Policy. Unfortunately it is always the unforeseen that happens in Ireland. The evil effects of long years of neglect and misgovernment were not to be so easily eradicated as St. Leger hoped. The family of Kildare had still a strong following in the country. In particular Earl Thomas's aunt, Eleanor, a woman of extraordinary energy and courage, was determined to leave no stone unturned in her efforts to avenge the injury done her House. Her efforts to upset the government by force had been frustrated by the defeat of O'Neill by Gray at the battle of Ballahoe in September 1539, and since St. Leger's arrival most of her allies had deserted her. One only, Brian O'Conor of Offaly, Earl Thomas's brother-in-law, continued faithful to her. Thanks to O'Conor's zeal in her cause the infant heir to the earldom, Earl Thomas's son Gerald, had been rescued from Henry's clutches and transferred for safety to France. Since then O'Conor had submitted to St. Leger, but he was still at heart a rebel, and when St. Leger was superseded by Sir Edward Bellingham at the beginning of Edward VI's reign he and his ally O'More once more raised the standard of revolt. Their rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed, and early in 1549 O'Conor and O'More were sent to London and imprisoned in the Tower. O'Conor's rebellion and the manner of its suppression boded ill for the success of Henry's plan for a pacific settlement of Ireland. Other causes co-operated in the same direction. Of these the most important were the discontent created by the attempt to convert tribal into feudal tenures; the widespread indignation provoked by the iconoclastic zeal of Browne and his coadjutor in the work of reformation, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory; the irritation caused by the imposition of cess for the maintenance of the

army; the debasement of the currency and the persistent attempts of the MacDonnells of the Out Isles of Scotland to effect a settlement in Antrim. Except in the matter of religion Mary's reign saw at first little alteration in the general state of affairs. In the vain hope of reverting to her father's policy of 'politic drifts and amiable persuasions' Mary, immediately on her accession, transferred the government once more to St. Leger. Shortly afterwards she gave orders for the restoration of Gerald Fitzgerald to the earldom of Kildare and for the release, with permission to return to Ireland, of Brian O'Conor. But none of these measures produced the result she expected. Want of adequate supplies and the necessity he was under of quartering his army on the country frustrated St. Leger's efforts to put the government on an orderly footing. The restoration of Kildare and Brian O'Conor, though it gratified the Irish, had little effect on the situation, especially as shortly after his return to Ireland O'Conor was rearrested on a charge of fomenting fresh disturbances. To make matters worse, St. Leger, who was labouring under a charge of falsifying his accounts, was anxious to be recalled.

Fresh Plans for the Settlement of Ireland. Recognizing that her well-intentioned attempt to govern Ireland in the spirit of Henry's policy of 'politic drifts and amiable persuasions' had failed, Mary resolved to try the effect of a more rigorous treatment of the Irish. The person to whom she turned for assistance in carrying her new policy into effect was Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter, or, as he was shortly to be by the death of his father, Earl of Sussex. In dismissing Fitzwalter, or, as we may call him by anticipation, Sussex, to his post Mary, after pointing out the desirableness of calling a parliament as soon as possible to regulate the succession and provide a subsidy, strongly impressed on him the necessity (1) of taking immediate steps to expel the Antrim Scots and (2) of effecting a permanent settlement of the districts occupied by the O'Mores and O'Conors. Sussex arrived in Dublin on 24 May 1556. Five weeks later he set out at the head of the

forces of the Pale for Ulster with the intention of forcibly ejecting the Scots from their settlements in Antrim. Unfortunately, before he could come up with them, the Scots had got wind of his approach and retired beyond the Bann into the forest of Glenconkein. But Sussex was not to be baulked of his prey, and following them up he managed, by taking them unawares, to kill a considerable number of them. His efforts, however, to catch their leaders, James Mór and Collo MacDonnell, failed, and before he could intercept them at Glenarm they had escaped to Scotland. Returning to Dublin by way of Newry, where he had an interview with Shane O'Neill, now rapidly rising into favour with his clan in opposition to both his father, the Earl of Tyrone, and his brother, the Baron of Dungannon, Sussex shortly afterwards set out on a fresh expedition into Offaly, with the object of effecting a settlement of that country and the neighbouring district of Leix.

First Attempt at Plantation. An interview at the Dingan, now Philipstown, with old Brian O'Conor's son and successor, Donough, seemed at first to promise a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of that business, and steps had already been taken by Sussex to effect a division of Leix and Offaly between the natives and a number of English colonists when the O'Mores and O'Conors again rose in arms. Their rebellion, as their efforts to prevent the progress of the invaders were called, was suppressed without much difficulty, and, Parliament meeting shortly afterwards, an Act was passed shiring Leix and Offaly as Queens County and Kings County respectively and conferring power on Sussex to plant them with English colonists. But before any steps could be taken to put the Act into execution the O'Conors and O'Mores were once more in full rebellion. Finding himself obliged to take the field in person against them Sussex had no sooner restored some degree of order in the midlands than he was suddenly compelled to march northwards by the news of a dangerous combination between Shane O'Neill and the Antrim Scots.

The expedition into Ulster proved a failure. Shane was too wary to risk a battle, and after devastating his country Sussex returned to Dublin and shortly afterwards crossed over to England. The first attempt at strong government had not proved very successful, but Mary refused to be discouraged. Fresh plans were formed, and in the hope of forcing the Scots to quit their settlements in Antrim it was resolved to attack them in their own country of Cantyre. With this object in view Sussex, immediately on his return to Dublin in April 1558, began to collect a fleet for the invasion of the Out Isles. But the middle of September had arrived before the expedition sailed, and though Sussex did manage to lay waste Big and Little Cumbray nothing of importance was effected, and it was with considerable difficulty and not a little loss both of ships and men that he succeeded in regaining the coast of Ireland.

Elizabeth's Attitude towards Ireland. Shortly afterwards Sussex repaired to England, but before any steps had been taken to retrieve his failure Mary died and was succeeded by Elizabeth. The situation, as Elizabeth candidly explained to Sussex, was not bright. For one thing the Crown was too poor to indulge in any schemes of conquest. At the utmost she could only afford to maintain an army of 1,500 soldiers, which was barely sufficient to garrison the principal fortresses and provide a body-guard for the deputy. No doubt the Scots ought to be expelled and O'Neill reduced to obedience. But before resorting to force it would be well to try what could be effected by diplomacy. The main factor in the situation was, of course, Shane O'Neill. Shane had practically succeeded in upsetting the settlement arrived at between Henry and his father, the Earl of Tyrone. The question was whether, in view of the doubtful legitimacy of the Baron of Dungannon, it might not be advisable to recognize Shane as his father's successor *de jure* as he already was *de facto*. No doubt it was a humiliating step for Government to take, but in the circumstances it was the only prudent course to pursue. Unfortunately

for Elizabeth's decision, it was shortly to appear that Shane's ambition was not limited to the chieftainship of his clan, but, on the other hand, that he was determined to make himself absolute master of Ulster. During Sussex's absence in England Shane had endeavoured to take advantage of a quarrel between Manus O'Donnell and his son Calvagh to extend his power over Tirconnell. The attempt had been frustrated by his defeat by Calvagh at Carriglea near Strabane, and Shane, taught prudence by his failure, at once offered, on Sussex's return to his post in the summer of 1559, not merely to behave as a dutiful subject but even to assist in the expulsion of the Scots, provided his claim to the chieftainship was allowed. This, as we have seen, Elizabeth was prepared to do; but when Shane further insisted on controlling the action of his *urrighs* or vassal chiefs Elizabeth refused her consent. When, in addition to his other misdeeds, Shane caused the 'removal' of the Baron of Dungannon, she authorized his forcible suppression and the installation of the Baron's son, Brian, as chieftain in his place. To do this proved, however, beyond Sussex's power, and Shane, having in the meanwhile got hold of his enemy Calvagh O'Donnell, declined further negotiations with Sussex and insisted on treating directly with Elizabeth.

Shane O'Neill at Court. To Sussex's chagrin Elizabeth consented to this course, and early in 1562 Shane, accompanied by the Earls of Ormond and Kildare, crossed over to England. But if Elizabeth expected to achieve an easy victory over this wild man of the woods, as, dressed in his native mantle and attended by his galloglasses, Shane might well have appeared to her, she was speedily undeceived. For not only did Shane succeed in holding his own with the lawyers of the Crown and in conclusively proving his right, both by English and Irish law, to be regarded as his father's legitimate successor, but he displayed so much diplomatic skill that Elizabeth, fearing the results of his intrigues with the Spanish ambassador, thought it prudent to provisionally admit his claim and hasten his return to Ireland. Once back in his

native country Shane lost no time in demonstrating his determination to exercise his full rights over his *urrighs*. Warned by Sussex that this would not be allowed, he obstinately stuck to his course, and after vainly endeavouring to subdue him by force the deputy was obliged to conclude peace with him on what were practically his own terms. Having in this way established his authority over what he regarded as his own territory and forced Calvagh O'Donnell to acknowledge his overlordship, Shane next decided to try a fall with the MacDonnells. On 2 May 1565 Shane defeated the Scots in a bloody battle near Ballycastle and captured their leaders James Mór MacDonnell and his brother Sorley Boy. Shane's victory placed the whole of Ulster at his feet, and Elizabeth, fearing for the consequences, at last ordered Sir Henry Sidney, who had succeeded Sussex as viceroy, to reduce him by force. In order to facilitate operations a small garrison was established at the head of Lough Foyle, where now the city of Derry stands, under the command of Colonel Randolph. With Randolph's help and the co-operation of Calvagh O'Donnell, Sidney succeeded in overrunning Tyrone, but, as usual, his efforts to capture Shane proved unavailing, and no sooner had he withdrawn into Connaught than Shane, taking advantage of Randolph's death, turned on the O'Donnells. This time, however, the fortune of war was against him, and seeing nothing for it but to make terms with the MacDonnells, Shane, taking his prisoner, Sorley Boy, with him, repaired to Cushendun. But the MacDonnells had neither forgotten nor forgiven his treatment of their chief, James Mór, who had died on his hands, and one word of recrimination leading to another Shane fell hacked to pieces by their skenes. His body, wrapped in an old cloak, was thrown into a hole close by. A few days later the governor of Carrickfergus, Captain William Piers, caused it to be dug up, and the head, severed from the body, to be sent to Sidney at Dublin.

Beginnings of the Counter-Reformation. Shane out of the way, Elizabeth determined to plant Ulster with Englishmen. But

before this could be done certain formalities had to be observed, which necessitated the calling of a parliament. It was with great reluctance that Elizabeth consented to take this step. Owing to a variety of causes, but chiefly to the Jesuits, who had recently made Ireland a centre of activity against England, the situation, even during the lifetime of Shane O'Neill, had been growing extremely critical, especially in Munster. A quarrel between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, leading to a regular battle between their retainers at the ford of Affane in February 1565, had obliged Elizabeth to summon both noblemen to London. Ormond had been released, but Desmond and his brother Sir John were still kept in honourable captivity. Their enforced absence enabled the earl's cousin, James Fitzmaurice, to establish himself as virtual ruler of Munster. In itself this would have mattered little; but Fitzmaurice had fallen a victim to the blandishments of the Jesuits, and either because he believed, as he was told, that Elizabeth was a usurper whom it was perfectly justifiable to dethrone, or because, as the Countess of Desmond asserted, he hoped with their assistance to oust Desmond from his position, he had constituted himself protector of the Catholic cause in Munster. He was still hovering on the verge of rebellion when the Parliament, which was to entitle the Crown to the lands lately in the possession of Shane O'Neill, met at Dublin in January 1569. Ten years had elapsed since Elizabeth had ascended the throne. In those ten years she had done much to alienate the sympathies of the Anglo-Irish gentry of the Pale. Possibly none of them were greatly concerned in Shane O'Neill's fate or would have raised any objection to the confiscation of his lands had not the recent 'rummaging', as it was called, of the land by private adventurers in quest of lost or dormant titles, rendered them averse to further plantations.

Fitzmaurice's Rebellion. Among those whose property had been called in question in this way was the brother of the Earl of Ormond, Sir Edmund Butler. When Parliament met, Butler

put himself at the head of the party opposed to Government, and being sharply reprimanded for his behaviour by Sidney he joined Fitzmaurice. Encouraged by his adhesion Fitzmaurice raised the standard of rebellion. When it was too late to prevent the mischief Sidney set to work to 'recover' Sir Edmund, and eventually with the aid of the Earl of Ormond the delinquent was persuaded to return to his allegiance. Being by his desertion left to his own resources, Fitzmaurice was soon reduced to a helpless condition, but for nearly three years he evaded every effort to capture him, till at last Sir John Perrot, fearing lest he might escape abroad, offered him a free pardon. In the hope of preventing such occurrences in the future Elizabeth liberated the Earl of Desmond; but shortly after the earl's return to Munster Fitzmaurice left the country. His object in going abroad was to offer the Crown of Ireland to any Catholic sovereign who would take the country under his protection. The offer was declined both by Catherine de' Medici and Philip II of Spain; but it was accepted for his nephew, Giacomo Buoncompagni, by Gregory XIII. With the assistance of a notorious English adventurer named Stukeley, a plan was arranged for the invasion of Ireland, and in February 1578 a small expedition sailed for Ireland from Civita Vecchia. It was entirely inadequate for the object in view, and on reaching Lisbon Stukeley allowed himself to be persuaded to join his forces to those of King Sebastian of Portugal in an attack on Morocco. The African enterprise proved a disastrous failure; but with the permission of Philip II and the assistance of that notable Jesuit Nicholas Sanders, Fitzmaurice succeeded in fitting out another expedition with which he sailed from Ferrol in June 1579. Landing at Smerwick in County Kerry, and leaving his men to entrench themselves there, Fitzmaurice went on a pilgrimage to Holy Cross Abbey in Tipperary. Unfortunately, on his way thither he was killed in a petty skirmish with some of the Burkes of Castle Connell.

Massacre of Fort del Ore. Fitzmaurice's death threatened the

collapse of the rebellion ; but at the pressing entreaty of Sanders the Earl of Desmond was persuaded to step into the breach. It was a foolish proceeding on his part. Before four weeks had elapsed he was being hunted by Ormond and Sir William Pelham from one hiding-place to another. The rebellion seemed on the point of expiring when it was suddenly revived by the unexpected rising of Viscount Baltinglas. Baltinglas was a member of an old Anglo-Irish family of the Pale and closely related to the Fitzgeralds. He himself was married to a sister of the Earl of Ormond, but like Fitzmaurice he had fallen under the influence of the Jesuits and was an enthusiastic admirer of Nicholas Sanders. Warned by his sister of her husband's intention, Ormond addressed a strong letter of expostulation to him, but Baltinglas refused to be advised. When Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton landed at Dublin in August 1580 to take over the government Baltinglas and his ally Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne occupied a strong position on the edge of the Wicklow Mountains, near Ballymore Eustace. In his reckless haste to restore order, Grey determined to attack them at once, and allowing himself to be enticed into the narrow defile of Glenmalure he suffered a crushing defeat. For a moment it seemed as if Ireland was on the verge of a general rebellion. The crisis was rendered more acute by the news that a fresh invading force had established itself at Smerwick. But the danger passed away, and Grey having recruited his army was soon posting southwards in search of the so-called Spaniards. The invaders, Italians for the most part under the command of a Bolognese officer named Sebastiano de San Josefo, not finding any one to direct their proceedings, had entrenched themselves in Fitzmaurice's old quarters at Fort del Ore near Smerwick. With the sea in their possession Fort del Ore might have been easily defended against a far superior force than Grey's, but with Admiral Winter's fleet cutting off their retreat, the narrow strip of land projecting into the sea on which the fort was placed proved a veritable death-trap. Recognizing the hopelessness of the position, Sebas-

tiano, though well supplied with provisions, agreed to surrender at discretion. Twenty-four hours later Grey, after disarming them, caused the whole garrison to the number of 600 men to be butchered in cold blood. It was a terrible business, unrivalled in cruelty even by Inchiquin's massacre at the Rock of Cashel and Cromwell's storming of Drogheda. The rebellion was at an end. A free pardon shortly afterwards secured the submission of O'Byrne, and Baltinglas, seeing further resistance impossible, escaped to the Continent. Exactly a year after the tragedy at Fort del Ore Desmond was killed while lurking in the wood of Glenageenty near Tralee, and his head being sent to London formed for a long time a hideous object on London Bridge.

The Plantation of Munster. Once more there was peace in the land. But what a peace! Over the length and breadth of the fairest province of Ireland reigned the silence of death. During the last year of the rebellion 30,000 men, women, and children had perished there of famine and pestilence. To English statesmen, obsessed with the virtues of plantation, it seemed as if an opportunity had been providentially created for an extensive application of their favourite plan for reducing Ireland to 'civility and good government'. According to the scheme finally approved by Elizabeth in June 1586 it was decided to divide the land confiscated by the rebellion of Desmond and his associates, amounting in all to something like half a million acres, into what were called seignories of 12,000, 8,000, 6,000, and 4,000 acres. These were to be assigned to Englishmen of good families, capable of finding sufficient capital to plant them with English colonists. No individual was to be allowed to have more than 12,000 acres, exclusive of what was called barren land. Each 'gentleman undertaker' for that amount was to establish six farmers with 400 acres apiece, six freeholders with 300 acres, forty-two copyholders with 100 acres, and finally thirty-six families holding at least 1,500 acres between them for mesne terms on his seignory. And so in proportion for the smaller seignories. The allotments

were to be held in free socage at an annual rent, commencing from Michaelmas 1590, of £33 6*s*. 8*d*. in Cork, Tipperary, and Waterford; £62 10*s*. in Limerick; £75 in Connello; and £100 in Kerry and Desmond for every entire seignory of 12,000 acres. Among those admitted to the undertaking were some of the best names in England—Raleigh, Norris, Hatton, Courtenay, Grenville, Bourchier, Herbert, Spenser. In all about thirty-six 'gentlemen undertakers' were estated; but of these many showed no eagerness to fulfil the conditions of their grants, some of them indeed never even visited Munster. In 1589 a commission, appointed to inquire how the plantation was progressing, reported that while a few of the undertakers were struggling manfully to develop their estates, the majority were merely trying to make as much profit out of them as possible, without regard either to the Irish or the interests of the colony. The result was very disappointing to Elizabeth, and so far shook her faith in the policy of plantation that when a few years later, on the suppression of a rising on the part of the MacMahons of Monaghan, an opportunity for a fresh plantation presented itself, she would have nothing to say to it, but gave instructions for the subdivision of the land among the principal members of the clan. The results of the settlement of County Monaghan were eminently satisfactory, and it is greatly to be regretted that the plan pursued there was not adopted elsewhere.

Ulster after Shane O'Neill's Death. Fitzmaurice's rebellion and the events arising out of it had prevented Government taking advantage of Shane O'Neill's death to effect a settlement of his country by planting it, as Elizabeth had intended, with Englishmen. The opportunity had been seized by Shane's cousin, Turlough Luineach O'Neill, to constitute himself chief of his clan. The honour, he explained to Sidney, had been thrust upon him by his clansmen, but he showed no intention of relinquishing it. Turlough, though he does not figure so largely in the imagination of his countrymen as either his predecessor

Shane or his successor Hugh, was nevertheless a very able man. Impressed with the futility of Shane's attempt to dominate Ulster, Turlough from the first desired to come to a friendly understanding both with the O'Donnells and the MacDonnells. Such a policy was not to the liking of Government, whose plan of maintaining its supremacy rested largely on the principle of *divide et impera*, or, as Strafford afterwards expressed it, of 'poising one party against the other'. With the object, therefore, of raising up a rival to Turlough, the late Baron of Dungannon's second son Hugh, who had been removed for safety to London, was brought over to Ireland and installed as captain of that part of Tyrone which corresponds with County Armagh. At the same time no means were neglected to create an English faction among the O'Donnells. The plan worked fairly well for a time. As a political watch-dog on Turlough's movements Hugh so far ingratiated himself with Government as not merely to be created Earl of Tyrone but to be rewarded with a fresh accession of territory at Turlough's expense. The natural result of this system of favouritism was to stimulate a desire on the part of Hugh to eject Turlough from the chieftainship. With this object in view he entered into an alliance with the anti-English faction among the O'Donnells. His plan was, however, detected and in order to nip it in the bud Sir John Perrot, who was then in charge of the government, caused Hugh Roe O'Donnell to be kidnapped and confined in Dublin Castle. Shortly afterwards Turlough inflicted a crushing defeat on Hugh O'Neill. The result of the battle was regarded with satisfaction by Government. But two or three years later Hugh Roe succeeded in escaping from Dublin Castle, and on reaching his country in safety he overthrew the English faction and entered into a close alliance with Hugh O'Neill. Seeing himself likely to be crushed between them, Turlough, in 1593, agreed to come to terms, and on being assured a life-interest in the district about Strabane, relinquished the chieftainship.

A Fresh Rebellion Brewing. A main agent in bringing about

the alliance between O'Neill and O'Donnell was Edmund Magauran, titular Archbishop of Armagh. Magauran was a well-known figure at Rome owing to his efforts there to secure the co-operation of the Catholic powers in an attempt to liberate Ireland from the English yoke. In Ireland his efforts were directed to composing those quarrels amongst the Irish which were always presenting an obstacle to united action. Returning from Rome in the summer of 1592, Magauran, after eluding the efforts of Government to capture him, took refuge with Maguire in Fermanagh. His activity during the winter in stiffening resistance to Government in Ulster attracted the attention of the President of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, and knowing that he was suspected Magauran persuaded Maguire to try to capture Bingham. But the President was not to be caught napping, and in the skirmish that ensued Magauran was killed. Magauran's death sat heavily on Maguire's conscience, and feeling that he was bound in honour to avenge it, his attitude during the summer of 1593 became so menacing that the Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, sent down a strong force under Sir Henry Bagenal to restore order in his country. Amongst those who were required to assist Bagenal were Tyrone and O'Donnell. Instead of obeying the order O'Donnell openly sided with Maguire. Tyrone, on the other hand, joined Bagenal and took part in Maguire's defeat at Beleek; but immediately afterwards, pleading a slight wound in his leg, he returned home. Tyrone's conduct was regarded as suspicious, and being called upon to present himself before the Council he refused on the ground that Fitzwilliam and Bagenal were banded together to take his life and deprive him of all honour. Matters were in this uncertain condition when Fitzwilliam handed over the government to Sir William Russell in August 1594. Russell had hardly received the sword of state than Tyrone suddenly presented himself before the Council, and after alleging his fear of the late Deputy as his reason for not having done so before, he protested his entire loyalty and readiness

to behave as a dutiful subject. Taken by surprise and flattered by his apparent confidence in his impartiality, Russell allowed him to return to his own country. But only a few weeks had passed before the Deputy had reason to regret his ill-placed confidence. For having during his visit to Dublin learned that Sir John Norris was shortly expected with large reinforcements from England, Tyrone anticipated his arrival by invading the Pale while O'Donnell at the same time raided Connaught.

Tyrone at Bay. On 24 June 1595 Tyrone was proclaimed a traitor, and a day or two later Russell and Norris invaded his country. As usual, there was a good deal of fighting of a desultory sort, but Tyrone evaded every effort to bring him to an open engagement, and letters being shortly afterwards intercepted from him and O'Donnell to Philip II and Don Juan del Aguila, Government, in fear of further complications, consented to an armistice. A truce was concluded on 2 October and commissioners were appointed to arrange a peace. Knowing that Philip was bestirring himself in their behalf, Tyrone's policy was to spin out the time till help actually arrived. But six months having passed away and no assistance arriving, Tyrone and O'Donnell agreed to lay down their arms. Peace was concluded on 24 April 1596, but hardly had it been signed than a letter arrived from Philip urging Tyrone and O'Donnell to keep up the contest and assuring them of speedy assistance. In their reply to Philip, Tyrone and O'Donnell protested their determination to do as Philip wished them. They had, they wrote, just been on the point of accepting the favourable terms offered them by the Queen, but now they were assured of Philip's support they had no intention of doing so. To mystify Government still further Tyrone showed Norris Philip's letter, and on being questioned what answer he and O'Donnell had returned to it he boldly declared that, having been received into the favour of their own gracious sovereign, they had declined his offer of assistance with thanks. To put the cap on the business, when his pardon was handed to

him Tyrone ordered a *feu de joie* to be fired. Meanwhile the promised expedition had actually sailed from Lisbon, but on rounding Cape Finisterre it encountered a storm which sent nearly every vessel in it to the bottom. Promise of fresh assistance was soon on the way; but by that time Government had got an inkling of Tyrone's duplicity and had determined on sharper measures. Early in the following year, 1597, Russell and Norris were superseded by Thomas Lord Burgh.

The Battle of the Yellow Ford. With the energy peculiar to new rulers Burgh had no sooner got his army into marching order than he invaded Tyrone's country. So rapid was his progress that the earl, who was lying with a detachment of his army between Newry and Armagh, had a narrow squeak for his life, and only managed to escape into a neighbouring bog with the loss of his horse and his hat. But, except for the erection of a new and stronger fort on the Blackwater, Burgh's efforts to reduce the rebel proved as futile as his predecessors' had done, and no sooner had lack of provisions compelled him to retire than Tyrone and O'Donnell were hard at work trying to capture his fort. To prevent this Burgh again marched northwards, but on the way he was seized with a violent fit of Irish ague of which he died suddenly at Newry. Burgh's death left Tyrone master of the situation. But evidently it was his policy to await the arrival of the Spaniards, and instead of overrunning the Pale, as he might easily have done, he reopened negotiations, and having on 'the knees of his heart' humbly confessed his sorrow for his late disloyalty he was again received into the Queen's mercy. Tyrone's pardon passed the Great Seal on 11 April 1598. Two months later he and O'Donnell attacked the fort on the Blackwater in full force. Prudence counselled the abandonment of the place, but its retention was regarded as a matter of prestige, and in August Sir Henry Bagenal was sent down with a strong force to relieve it. As Bagenal, after crossing the River Callan at what was called the Yellow Ford, was approaching the Blackwater through a difficult

country he was set on by Tyrone and O'Donnell and his army practically annihilated. The news of Tyrone's victory was received with consternation in Dublin. If he liked to use his opportunity, nothing, it was felt, could prevent a general conflagration. But Tyrone, beyond directing a small force into Munster, showed no intention to profit by the situation, and the Catholic gentry everywhere remained firm in their allegiance. Still, the state of affairs was critical enough to cause the Government in London great anxiety, and Elizabeth, feeling the need for energetic action, sent over her favourite general, the Earl of Essex, at the head of a larger army than had ever before been seen in Ireland. But Essex had no knowledge of Irish warfare, and with the object apparently of securing his rear, by reducing the south and midlands to order, before attacking Tyrone, he frittered away his army in a useless campaign in Munster, so that, on returning to Dublin, he found himself unable without further reinforcements to attack Tyrone. Fresh troops were sent him accompanied by a sharp order requiring him to lose no further time 'in reducing that rebel Tyrone'. Marching from Dublin at the head of 4,000 men Essex had reached the ford of Anagh Clint on the River Lagan when Tyrone demanded a parley. Contrary to his instructions Essex consented to an interview, and in the end agreed to a truce pending the appointment of commissioners to arrange a pacification. As Elizabeth remarked, 'it was a quick end to a slow business'. Her indignation found vent in a bitter letter of reproach, and Essex, fearing that he was in danger of forfeiting her favour, threw down his charge and returned post-haste to London. But Elizabeth, though at first inclined to allow her partiality for him to outweigh her judgment, was too much hurt in her pride to forgive him immediately. Besides, the situation was too serious to permit of trifling. For Tyrone, taking advantage of Essex's absence, had at last thrown off the mask, and advancing through the midlands into Munster was actively engaged in rallying the country to his standard. Considerable

time elapsed before a competent successor to Essex could be found, and it was not till the end of February 1600 that the new Deputy, Lord Mountjoy, accompanied by Sir George Carew as President of Munster, arrived in Ireland. Hearing that Tyrone was still in Munster, Mountjoy determined to intercept him on his return to Ulster. But Tyrone had already taken the alarm and effected his escape before Mountjoy could complete his preparations. Disappointed in this direction, Mountjoy, leaving Carew to restore order in Munster and sending Sir Henry Docwra round to Lough Foyle to hold the O'Donnells in check, at once marched northwards. His intention was, by erecting a chain of forts or blockhouses and thus gradually restricting Tyrone's sphere of action, to force him either to surrender or give battle. But the process was an arduous one, and though Docwra, with the assistance of Hugh Roe's cousin and rival, Nial Garv O'Donnell, the head of the English faction, succeeded in firmly establishing himself at Derry, several months elapsed before Mountjoy reached the line of the Blackwater. Meanwhile promise of assistance with a considerable supply of money and ammunition had reached Tyrone from Philip III.

The Battle of Kinsale. May 1601 had come and Tyrone was still at large when news arrived that the long-expected Spaniards were nearing the coast. At the time Mountjoy and Carew were visiting Ormond at Kilkenny, and on Carew's advice Mountjoy, leaving instructions for the army to follow as quickly as possible, hastened down to Cork. A few days later the commander of the invading force, Don Juan del Aguila, succeeded in effecting a landing at Kinsale, which he proceeded to fortify. He had come with the object of assisting the Irish to throw off the English yoke. Unfortunately, owing to Carew's energetic measures Munster had returned to its obedience, and finding no one in authority to assist or advise him Don Juan was perforce compelled to remain inactive. Nearly six months elapsed before Tyrone and O'Donnell could get their armies into marching order, and

November was drawing to a close before they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kinsale. Meanwhile Mountjoy, with the support of the fleet, had been trying to force Don Juan to capitulate. The arrival of Tyrone and O'Donnell reversed Mountjoy's position and exposed the English army to the danger of being crushed between the Irish and Spaniards. Tyrone, feeling sure that by cutting off Mountjoy's supplies he would eventually starve out the English army, was desirous of proceeding leisurely. But O'Donnell was eager to attack, and Don Juan, tired of his prolonged inactivity, supported him. A plan for a combined attack to take place on Christmas Eve was arranged, but the plan was betrayed to Mountjoy and ended in the complete discomfiture of the allies. The losses of the Irish had been comparatively trivial and Tyrone was in favour of a fresh attempt; but O'Donnell, who attributed the failure of the plan to Don Juan, refused his co-operation and almost immediately sailed for Spain, to solicit fresh assistance under a more capable general. Shortly afterwards a letter from Philip to Don Juan ordering him to hold out at all costs, in view of fresh help on the way, was intercepted by Mountjoy. Knowing Don Juan's desire to be gone Mountjoy offered him favourable terms, and in ignorance of Philip's orders Don Juan agreed to capitulate on being assured a safe passage to Spain. Left to himself Tyrone returned to his own country, to find that during his absence Docwra had erected a new fort at Omagh. All hope of successful resistance was at an end, but Tyrone refused to surrender unconditionally, and some rumour that James VI was intriguing with him reaching Elizabeth, she authorized Mountjoy to grant him a free pardon with restoration under certain restrictions to his estate. On 3 April 1603 Tyrone, in ignorance of Elizabeth's death, submitted to Mountjoy at Mellifont.

Protestants and Catholics. The war that had convulsed Ireland for the last five years was at an end. With the accession of James I it was hoped that a brighter future was in store for the

country. The Catholics, in particular, were sanguine that, under the son of Mary Queen of Scots, they would no longer be subjected to those religious disabilities which had of late years strained their loyalty almost to breaking point. Their indignation was accordingly intense when they learnt that, so far as Government was concerned, no change was either intended or would be allowed, and affecting to disbelieve that Mountjoy's policy accurately represented James's intentions, they insisted on sending a deputation to England. The deputation was introduced by the Earl of Tyrone, but the manner of its reception hardly answered the expectations of the Catholics, and several of them expressing their opinion more freely than James thought proper to allow were sent to cool their ardour in the Tower. In his reply to their petition for religious equality James, while expressing his intention to force no man's conscience, read the Catholics a long sermon on the advantages and necessity of conformity. Returning to Ireland the deputies announced that it was not the King's intention to force their consciences. Suspecting the accuracy of their report, Chichester, to whom the government had been entrusted, applied to James for an authentic statement of what had passed at the interview. In his answer James declared that the Catholics had misunderstood him, and that while he was willing to respect their private opinions he was absolutely determined that they should conform to the laws by going to church. But the Catholics were not to be so easily controlled. To James's demand that they should go to church they replied that there were no churches for them to go to. The excuse was admitted to be well founded by the Attorney-General, Sir John Davies, and Davies's opinion was fully confirmed by a commission appointed to inquire into the general state of religion. At the same time nothing, the commissioners reported, could be done to remedy matters and establish a godly and zealous clergy until the swarms of titular bishops and seminary priests and Jesuits that infested the country were expelled. In the end a Proclamation was published command-

ing all Jesuits and seminary priests to leave the country before 10 December 1605. The Proclamation was immediately met on the part of the Catholics by a 'giant-like petition', signed by more than 200 of the leading gentry of the Pale. In transmitting the petition to James, Chichester hinted that it would be well to pay no attention to it. But James had been recently touched by Gunpowder Treason on his weakest point, and in his reply to the Deputy the King urged the necessity of proceeding with the utmost caution. The advice was little to Chichester's liking, but it was impossible to argue with a sovereign in mortal fear of his personal safety. In the end the Proclamation was allowed to slip into abeyance and affairs reverted to their former unsatisfactory condition.

The Flight of the Earls and its Consequences. Such was the general situation in autumn 1607 when the country was again thrown into a state of commotion by the news that the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, accompanied by Maguire, their wives, and families, had suddenly sailed from Lough Swilly to the Continent. The flight of the earls, as the incident is called, took Government entirely by surprise. So far as was known Tyrone, except for a quarrel with O'Cahan, was fairly satisfied with his position and treatment. True, he was annoyed at a late Proclamation of James's extending the protection of the Crown impartially to all his subjects whether of English or Irish descent, as detrimental to his control over his *urrighs* or vassal chiefs. But this seemed too small a grievance to account for such an extreme step, and, no evidence being forthcoming of any intention on his part to create a fresh rebellion, Chichester was fain to regard his flight as a providential occurrence, to enable James to repair his former mistake of conferring such wide scopes of land on him and Tyrconnell without due regard to the claims of their clansmen. His suggestion was that the Crown should assume possession of the countries of the fugitives, 'divide the lands amongst the inhabitants—to every man of note or good desert as much as he could

conveniently stock and cultivate by himself, his tenants, and followers; bestow the rest upon servitors and men of worth in Ireland, and withal bring in colonies of civil people of England and Scotland, with condition to build castles and storehouses upon their lands.' But before any decisive steps had been taken the scheme of settlement underwent a radical revision owing to the rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty of Inishowen and the suspected complicity in it of Sir Donnell O'Cahan, lord of what is now the County of Londonderry. O'Dogherty's rebellion was due entirely to a personal quarrel between him and the Governor of Derry, Sir George Paulet. Paulet was one of those high-handed officials whose contempt of native rights has been the bane of English rule in other countries besides Ireland. Paulet, it seems, had either struck or threatened to strike O'Dogherty. In retaliation for the insult or injury O'Dogherty captured Derry and killed Paulet along with several of the garrison. This of course was an offence that Chichester could not overlook, and Sir Richard Wingfield was at once sent down to restore order. The upshot of the affair was that O'Dogherty was killed and his lands confiscated. O'Cahan's case was even more deplorable than O'Dogherty's. O'Cahan had taken no part in O'Dogherty's rebellion, but fearing that he might be compromised by it he had, in order to establish his *bona fides*, surrendered his person to Government. After a short detention in Dublin Castle O'Cahan was removed to England and confined in the Tower, where he afterwards died. To complete the tale of confiscation, advantage was taken of the fact that Sir John O'Reilly, lord of what is now the County of Cavan, had died in rebellion in Elizabeth's reign, to add his lands to those already in possession of the Crown.

Plantation of Ulster. In suggesting a settlement of the lands lately in the possession of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell Chichester's intention, following the example set by Elizabeth in regard to the MacMahons, was to treat the natives with the

greatest liberality. Only after they had been satisfied were the remaining lands to be divided amongst men who had served the State in Ireland and such English and Scottish planters as were adjudged suitable for the enterprise. Unfortunately, the air in England at the time was thick with colonization projects. Among those bitten by the popular craze was Bacon. But Bacon was of opinion that Englishmen would be doing their country better service by planting Ireland than by transferring their energy and capital to such remote places as Newfoundland. There were plenty of people willing to take his advice, and James was soon overwhelmed with applications to participate in his new plantation. The consequence was that, from being the most favoured, the Irish became the least regarded partakers in the scheme. According to the plan ultimately adopted in 1609, all the escheated lands, embracing the whole of Ulster with the exception of the counties of Antrim, Down, and Monaghan, were divided into four parts, viz. two of 1,000 acres, one of 1,500 acres, and one of 2,000 acres. The comparative smallness of the allotments was intended to guard against the mistake committed in Munster, where too much land had been assigned to individual undertakers. Three classes of undertakers were admitted to a share in the plantation: (1) English and Scots who were to have only English or inland-Scottish tenants; (2) servitors, i. e. Irish military and civil officials, who might have English, Scottish, or Irish tenants; (3) natives, who were to be made freeholders. Undertakers of a large portion or 2,000 acres were to build a castle with a strong courtyard on their property; undertakers of a middle portion a stone or brick house; undertakers of a small portion a strong bawn or courtyard round their dwelling. Each Irish freeholder was to pay a Crown rent of £10 13*s.* 4*d.* annually for every 1,000 acres. In consideration of the expense he was at in removing to Ireland, each English and Scottish undertaker was required to pay only half of that amount, and each servitor £8. In order to avoid emulation the lands were to be apportioned by lot, and as a

guarantee of peaceable possession a promise was given that the unruly element should be transported abroad.

Chichester's Criticism of the Plantation. When the scheme of plantation was submitted to Chichester he strongly disapproved of what he called the ' arithmetical division ' of the lands. Apportionment by lot he thought would prevent persons who wished to plant together undertaking at all, while the regulations regarding building took no account of the relative difficulty of obtaining the requisite materials. But it was the niggardly treatment of the Irish and the threat to transport the swordsmen instead of providing for them that chiefly aroused his indignation. But if he was disappointed with the scheme itself he was hardly better pleased with the undertakers. Most of the English he thought were ' plain country gentlemen ' who, though they promised much, gave small assurance or hopes of performing what appertained to a work of such moment. The Scots, if they were not so well supplied with money, were better attended and more workmanlike. Chichester's criticisms were not altogether without their effect on Government, and before things had proceeded too far an offer of the whole County of Coleraine, or as it came to be called Londonderry, was made to the City of London. The offer met at first with a cool reception, and it was only after great pressure had been brought to bear on the city fathers and special favours granted them that it was accepted. All the same the plantation prospered and struck its roots deep into the soil of Ulster. That it came in the end to bear the character of a Scottish settlement was due partly to the energy of the Scottish undertakers, partly to the proximity of Ulster to Scotland, and partly to the fact that Antrim and Down were already thickly planted with Scottish families. Of religion there was at first little to be seen. The Scots, if they were not, as they have been described, the scum of the nation, were not remarkable for their moral qualities. But what was lacking to them in that respect was speedily supplied by James's ecclesiastical policy in

Scotland. Presbyterian ministers, whose consciences rebelled against the restoration of episcopacy at home, sought a refuge and a new sphere of activity in the north of Ireland. Their ministrations were abundantly blessed and the character they impressed on the plantation it has never lost. Unfortunately, the establishment of a compact body of zealous Presbyterians in a country preponderatingly Catholic has served to vastly complicate the Irish problem. But this was for the future to reveal. At the time the most noticeable feature of the plantation was the industry displayed by the undertakers in making the best of their bargains. Their industry threw an air of prosperity over the undertaking, which speedily led to further enterprises of a similar sort. But, though none of these could be regarded as even moderately successful, nothing, it seemed, could shake the faith of English statesmen in the efficacy of the policy of plantation as a means of establishing a firmer hold on the country.

Parliamentary Opposition. The effect of the plantations on the political situation was not lost on the Catholics. Hitherto the Catholic gentry of the Pale had been inclined to regard the fate of the native Irish with equanimity. They had no love for them and the confiscation of their lands had affected them only slightly. But now, when it was rumoured that Government intended to take advantage of the plantations to call a parliament for the purpose of passing severer laws against Catholicism, the danger of the situation became apparent to them, and it was noted, as a sign of the change that had come over them, that whereas 'until of late, the old English race, as well in the Pale as in other parts of the kingdom, despised the mere Irish, accounting them a barbarous people' now 'their union is such, as not only the old English dispersed abroad in all parts of the realm, but the inhabitants of the Pale, cities and towns, are as apt to take arms against us as the ancient Irish'. Hitherto the inability of Government to secure a Protestant majority (due in large measure, it must be admitted, to James's Proclamation conferring equal political

rights on all his subjects) had been a main reason for not calling a parliament at all. It was now hoped that, by making an adroit use of the plantations, this disability might be overcome. After mature consideration it was determined to create forty-three new boroughs. As most of these new boroughs would be under the control of the planters it was reckoned that in a House of Commons consisting of 218 members Government would have a safe majority of about thirty. Naturally, when the intention of Government became known it was vehemently opposed by the Catholics. Meetings were held and petitions signed protesting against the erection of corporations 'consisting of some few beggarly cottages'. But Government was not to be diverted from its purpose and Parliament met as arranged on 18 May 1613. No sooner had it met, however, than the long pent-up storm broke loose. A motion on the part of Government to elect Sir John Davies Speaker was resisted by the Catholics, and after a violent scene, owing to their attempt to force their own candidate, Sir John Everard, into the Chair, the Opposition withdrew in a body. Every effort to induce the Recusants, as they were called, to alter their attitude failed, and in the end Chichester was obliged to allow them to submit their case against him to James. The result was the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the management of the elections and the general conduct of Administration. The Commission reported in November, and in the end several of the new boroughs were temporarily disfranchised. Their disfranchisement and a hint that the proposed penal laws had been abandoned conciliated the Catholics, and on reopening Parliament Chichester was gratified by obtaining their consent to a liberal Subsidy Bill.

The Graces. There is no question that during Chichester's administration Roman Catholicism had made great progress in Ireland. Under his immediate successors Sir Oliver St. John and Lord Falkland its progress became even more pronounced. For this result James himself was chiefly responsible. For how was it

possible for even the most determined viceroy to carry on the conflict against Jesuitism if James, in his desire at one time to champion Protestantism on the Continent, at another to curry favour with Spain in the vain hope of marrying his son to Philip's daughter, could not make up his own mind what course to pursue? Naturally the Catholics took advantage of the situation to strengthen their position. The result was apparent when, in consequence of his breach with Spain and the menacing attitude of France, Charles, shortly after his accession, was constrained to turn to them for assistance in providing for the defence of the realm. It was Charles's intention, so he wrote to Falkland in September 1626, to raise a standing army in Ireland of 5,000 foot and 500 horse. How this was to be done and how Irishmen were to be induced to support the army when it was once raised he left to Falkland's discretion. For himself he was absolutely opposed to calling a parliament; but, as an inducement to the nobility and gentry to support his plan, he was willing to concede them certain favours or graces. Amongst the favours he was prepared to grant were the recognition of a sixty years' clear possession of property as a bar to any claim on the part of the Crown, the substitution of a simple oath of allegiance for that of Supremacy and the admission of all who took it to offices of State, the remission of the shilling fines for non-attendance at church and a free pardon to all who had offended in that particular, together with a revision of the conditions of plantation and a stricter control of soldiers on the march. The proposal to relax the penal laws, or, as they called it, the 'setting up of religion for sale', stuck in the throats of the Protestants, while the Catholics were at first absolutely opposed to any agreement not sanctioned by Parliament. In the end, however, the objections of both were overcome. The Protestants, yielding to Archbishop Ussher's entreaty, consented to trust their cause to the King, while the Catholics, on being assured that a parliament would be immediately called to ratify the agreement, agreed to bind the

country to contribute £120,000 extended over three years. Never has the confidence trick been more successfully performed than it was on this occasion. Once assured of the consent of the country to his plan Charles neglected to fulfil his share of the bargain. A pretence was indeed made to call a parliament, but when it was found that it somehow or other involved a breach of Poynings' Law the pretence was abandoned. The Catholics could be well satisfied with the result. The collection of the money might be left to Government, but it was impossible for Government, so long as it was dependent on their bounty, to be particularly exigent in the execution of the penal laws against them. A Proclamation published by Falkland shortly before his recall in 1629, forbidding the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdictions derived from Rome and ordering the dissolution of all Catholic colleges and monasteries, was treated with the contempt it deserved. His successors, the Lords Justices Adam Loftus and the Earl of Cork, immersed in their own plans for accumulating wealth, were content to let matters drift. Ireland, in the opinion of the latter, had never been more peaceful than it was. The country was growing richer, people were contented, and with a few more years of peace the King would be 'able to command a levy of English and Irish, reformed in manners and religion, more powerful than any force which the disloyal party could raise'.

A Policy of 'Thorough'. It was a pity that Charles could not let well alone: a thousand pities that the man he chose to entrust the government of Ireland to was just the man Ireland least needed. Sir Thomas Wentworth, better known by his subsequent title of Earl of Strafford, was a typical Englishman—a man of infinite resource and indomitable courage, self-reliant, strongly impressed with the sense of order, indifferent to anything but the call of duty, scornful of little men and half-measures, contemptuous of advice and utterly ignorant of Ireland, Irish history, and the character of Irishmen. To him Ireland resembled an

untidy room which it was his business to put in order at no matter what discomfort it might cause its occupants. The one thing he most detested was the policy of drift so congenial to Irish officials. His own policy was summed up in the one word—Thorough. Wentworth arrived in Ireland in July 1633. On opening the Parliament he had obtained Charles's reluctant consent to call twelve months later he announced his intention of holding two sessions—the first for the sovereign, the second for the subject. The plan was agreeable to neither Protestants nor Catholics, but being so evenly balanced neither of them cared to forfeit his good opinion by opposing it, and with eager unanimity they both voted the six subsidies he demanded. But if the Catholics thought to be rewarded for their loyalty by the long-desired confirmation of the *Graces* they were speedily undeceived. The *Graces*, Wentworth informed them, were to be divided into three classes, viz. those fit to be passed into laws, those which might be continued administratively, and those which were not fit to be granted at all. Amongst these last was the Grace limiting the claim of the Crown to lands with a clear possession of sixty years. When the Catholics realized his meaning their indignation was unbounded, and finding themselves accidentally in a majority they refused to proceed to further business. So menacing was their attitude that Wentworth for a moment thought of proroguing Parliament, but the Protestants coming to his assistance enabled him to bring the Session to a satisfactory conclusion.

Wentworth's Plans. Having got all he wanted from Parliament Wentworth turned with characteristic energy to the work of reforming Ireland. His object, plainly stated, was to make Ireland a source of wealth and strength to Charles in his coming struggle with Parliament. Industrially, politically, and ecclesiastically she was to become the counterpart of England. Apart from his plans for increasing the revenue and developing the resources of the country by clearing the narrow seas of the pirates that

infested them and of whose insolence he had had some personal experience, promoting the linen industry, improving the breed of cattle, and extending the fisheries, his scheme ran to three points: (1) the Church, (2) the land, and (3) the army. Something he had already done since his arrival with the aid of his chaplain, John Bramhall, shortly to be created Bishop of Derry, to remedy the most crying disorders in the Church and to restore order and decency in public worship. But these were merely matters of external reform, and Wentworth was bent on establishing perfect conformity between the sister churches of Ireland and England. This he eventually accomplished by forcing Convocation to adopt the canons of the Church of England. The adoption of the English canons was strongly opposed by Archbishop Ussher, and, indeed, so far as the Church of Ireland was largely dependent on the support of Presbyterianism in a predominantly Catholic country, their adoption was an unqualified blunder. In his dealings with the land Wentworth was even less successful than he was with the Church. He had two objects in view, (1) a strict revision of the existing plantations, especially the Londoners' plantation in Ulster, and (2) the establishment of a new plantation in Connaught. To effect his purpose he obtained the appointment of a commission 'for the remedy of defective titles'. By the remedy of defective titles Wentworth simply meant the exaction of huge fines, either in money or land, on pretext of a breach of the conditions of plantation or of an insufficient title (such as a mere prescriptive right furnished) to the possession of lands. With the aid of his Commission Wentworth intended (1) to strip the City of London of its plantation lands in Ulster or to make it pay a heavy fine for the renewal of its charter, and (2) to force the landed gentry of Connaught to part with one-fourth of their lands in return for a legal title to the rest. The lands so confiscated were to be put up for sale in order to effect a new English-Protestant plantation. It is unnecessary to pursue the matter further as in neither respect did Wentworth's plan come

to fruition. But the indignation his attempt to put it into execution created was intense, and so far as the Londoners were concerned it proved a principal cause of bringing him to the block. As regards the army, however, Wentworth was entirely successful. From being an ill-drilled, badly officered, wretchedly equipped, and miserably paid force the Irish army became, under his fostering care and keen supervision, not merely an efficient instrument for the execution of his will, but an admirable school for the training of officers for the English army.

Wentworth's Failure. Wentworth was busy with his plans for the amelioration of Ireland when the little cloud, that had been for some time gathering over Edinburgh, began to spread with such rapidity as early in 1638 to cast its shadow over Ireland. From Scotland the contagion of the Covenant passed to Ulster. To counteract its working, Wentworth, with the permission and express approval of Charles, constructed an oath, called the Black Oath, obliging all who took it not merely to obey the King in all things but to renounce all covenants not authorized by him. The attempt to enforce the oath (from which the Catholics were characteristically freed) in Ulster brought that province to the verge of rebellion. In order to prevent an outbreak and, if necessary, to assist Charles in his operations against Scotland, Wentworth moved a considerable part of the army down to Carrickfergus. But Charles's attempt to force episcopacy on the Scots at the sword's point had ended in failure, and being obliged to consent to the Treaty of Berwick in July 1639 he took advantage of Wentworth's accidental presence in London to invite his advice as to the course he ought to pursue. Blinded by his hatred of the Scots, Wentworth urged Charles to call a parliament. Englishmen, he was sure, would find money to expel the Scots. To 'hearten the experiment' he himself would hold a parliament at Dublin. Having received Charles's reluctant consent to his plan Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford, immediately issued writs for a new Parliament. Parliament was already in session when he

returned to Dublin on 18 March 1640. To his demand for financial support the Commons not merely voted the four subsidies or £180,000 he asked for, but passed an address of thanks to Charles for giving them such a 'just, wise, vigilant and profitable governor' as Strafford had proved himself to be. Rumour said that the address was dictated by Strafford himself; anyhow, he caused it to be widely distributed in England, whither, after appointing his friend, Sir Christopher Wandesford, to act as Deputy for him, he immediately returned. But as week after week passed away and the prospect of Strafford returning to his post grew slighter, the Commons recovered their courage, and with hasty and unanimous zeal set to work to tear down the building he had been at such pains to erect. Their denunciations strengthened Pym's hands and were largely instrumental in securing Strafford's condemnation. The fate that had overtaken his friend so preyed on Wandesford's mind that he died about the end of 1640. Pending the appointment of a successor the Government was placed in the hands of the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase. Borlase was a nonentity: the real Governor was Parsons. Meanwhile, having recovered their ascendancy in Parliament, the Catholics were clamouring loudly for a confimation of the *Graces*. In the hope of obtaining their support Charles had expressed his entire willingness to concede their request. But to this concession Parsons was as strongly opposed as Strafford had been, and with the knowledge that a bill for the confirmation of the *Graces* was on its way from England he took the fatal step of proroguing Parliament in August 1641. Before it could meet again Ireland was in the throes of a fresh rebellion.

PART IV

Rebellion and Settlement, 1641–91

The Rebellion and its Proximate Causes. It is difficult to offer a satisfactory explanation of the causes of the Rebellion that broke out on 23 October 1641 mainly because there was apparently no sufficient reason for a rebellion at all. Except for their desire to obtain a confirmation of the *Graces* the Catholics had no particular ground of complaint. True, things might tend to their disadvantage if the Puritans got the upper hand in England, but the possibility of this was too remote to cause them much uneasiness. The only real danger was that, by persisting in his opposition to the *Graces*, Parsons might force an explosion; but here again the Catholics could rely on Charles's support. Altogether, and taking as wide a view of the subject as possible, we may conclude: (1) the Rebellion was a bolt from the blue; (2) it was due to a variety of causes, none of which was of any particular importance in itself; and (3) that it was at first so insignificant that it might by prompt action have been easily suppressed. These are the deductions which a careful scrutiny of the facts seem to warrant. The facts themselves are as follows. For a long time past, ever, in fact, since the death of Wandesford, the political atmosphere in Dublin was thick with rumours of impending changes, owing to the menacing attitude of the Scots, the quarrel between the King and Parliament, and the angry feelings aroused by the trial and execution of the Earl of Strafford. No one, indeed, knew exactly where he stood or how things would turn out. The one thing everybody desired was the confirmation of the *Graces*, and this Parsons was apparently at all costs determined to prevent. The situation presented the possibility of a political revolution. To Rory O'More, a young gentleman of good family, the nominal head of the sept of the O'Mores and

closely connected with several of the best families of the Pale, it presented the possibility of retrieving his financial losses. Rory O'More, if any one, was the author of the Rebellion; but the situation was not of his making. Seeing how things were going and knowing that, though they greatly desired the forcible ejection of Parsons, the gentry of the Pale were not likely to move on their own account, O'More determined to force their hands. Among the fashionable 'bloods' in Dublin no one was more esteemed for his extravagance than Corny Lord Maguire, the nominal head of the Maguires of County Fermanagh and a great man in his own country. Like O'More, Maguire had a long memory, and, like him, he was hard pressed for money. The prospect of using the situation to 'recover their own', as opened to him by O'More, naturally appealed to him, and taking to their counsels the heads of the principal clans in Ulster Sir Phelim and Turlough O'Neill, Philip O'Reilly, and Hugh Og MacMahon, a plot to capture Dublin, upset the Government, and destroy the plantations was soon in progress.

The Rebellion breaks out. Saturday 23 October, being market-day in Dublin, when the town was generally full of strangers, was the date ultimately fixed for the rising. To Maguire and MacMahon was assigned the task of capturing the Castle; O'Neill and O'Reilly were to control the rising in the north; O'More apparently was to devote his attention to the midlands. Everything was in order and only a few hours were wanting till the attempt on the Castle was to be made when the plot was accidentally revealed to Government. The discovery of the plot was instantly followed by the arrest of Maguire and MacMahon. Meanwhile the insurrection had broken out in Ulster; but, except for the capture of Charlemont, Dungannon, and one or two other places, it too at first threatened to prove a failure. But rumour greatly magnified the success of the rebels, and in its ignorance of the actual state of affairs Government, instead of taking active steps for their suppression, concentrated its atten-

tion on the defence of Dublin. It is easy to attribute pusillanimity to Parsons, but the fact is the Rebellion took him as it did everybody else by surprise. Parsons's chief difficulty was his uncertainty as to how far the gentry of the Pale were involved in the plot. Their protestations of loyalty failed to entirely remove his doubts, and not knowing how far to trust them he adopted a series of half-measures which only made matters worse. Meanwhile the Rebellion in Ulster was spreading. Generally speaking, the Rebellion there was at first little more than a rising of a mob of unarmed peasants chiefly bent on plunder, but from simple plundering it gradually developed into something much worse. Whether it was, as was officially stated, attended by a general massacre of the Protestant settlers is a point which can never be thoroughly cleared up. That the number of those killed in cold blood during the first year of the Rebellion was purposely exaggerated by Government is too evident to be disputed; on the other hand, it is equally clear that very many defenceless men, women, and children were put to death under circumstances of revolting brutality and that very many more died of the cruel treatment they received. There is no reason to be surprised at this. For, quite apart from the fact that peasant risings have everywhere and at all times borne a sanguinary character, it must be remembered that the peasantry in Ulster had many of them bitter wrongs to avenge. It is absurd to allow our judgment of their conduct to be biased by modern notions of moral responsibility. The perpetrators of such murders as actually occurred were no more responsible for their actions than wild animals. The responsibility rests in the first place with those who incited them to rebellion; ultimately with those who rendered rebellion possible.

Spread of the Rebellion. From the first the real head of the Rebellion in Ulster was Sir Phelim O'Neill. Without O'Neill's energy and enterprise the whole affair would have proved a mere flash in the pan. The day following his capture of Charlemont

and Dungannon Sir Phelim published a proclamation, announcing that he and his associates had taken up arms 'only for the defence and liberty of ourselves and the Irish natives of this kingdom' and in no way to the harm either of the King or any of his English or Scottish subjects. A few days later he declared that he was acting under a commission from Charles himself, authorizing the Irish to rise in defence of their liberties. The commission was a gross forgery, but it effected its purpose, and shortly afterwards Sir Phelim was chosen commander-in-chief of the forces in Ulster. Meanwhile a crowd of half-armed peasants under the leadership of O'More and O'Reilly were concentrating on Drogheda. Their chance of taking the place, which had been entrusted to the care of Sir Henry Tichborne, was small. But in order to strengthen the defence a relief force was sent thither by Government towards the end of November, under the command of Sir Patrick Wemyss. As the soldiers were nearing Drogheda they were suddenly attacked by the Irish and completely routed. The battle of Julianstown Bridge, as the affair was called, exerted an altogether disproportionate effect on the situation. As we have remarked, the attitude of Government towards the gentry of the Pale had from the first been one of ill-concealed suspicion. In the circumstances it was hardly possible that it could be otherwise. But the result was deplorable. For, finding themselves distrusted and being unable to maintain a neutral attitude, the gentry of the Pale were almost irresistibly drawn to the side of the rebels. The battle of Julianstown Bridge decided them. A week after the battle Lord Gormanston and several others of their leaders had an interview with O'More and O'Reilly at the Hill of Crofty, a few miles to the south of Drogheda, and being assured of their loyalty to Charles the gentry of the Pale decided to throw in their lot with the northern rebels. In announcing the fact to his friends in England Parsons endeavoured to make light of what he called the 'defection of the seven lords of the Pale', insisting that so far from being a misfortune it was really of advantage to

His Majesty, by placing at his free disposal 'those three great counties of Leinster, Ulster, and the Pale', and the general settlement of peace and religion by the introducing of English. Parsons's statement throws a lurid light on his own conduct and the events leading up to what is known as the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland. From Leinster the Rebellion spread by degrees to Munster and Connaught. In neither of these provinces was the insurrection accompanied by any such outburst of popular frenzy as marked the rising in Ulster. Murders there were, but except at Silvermines and Shrule Bridge they were not of a particularly revolting character. The chief offence was 'scabbaging' or plundering, and for this the local authorities were not altogether blameless.

Measures to Suppress the Rebellion. Intelligence of the Rebellion reached the English Parliament on 1 November. In the first flush of its wrath the House of Commons voted men and money for its instant suppression. But as the difficulty of raising the necessary money was forcibly brought home to it by the refusal of the City of London to advance a loan, cooler counsels began to prevail. An offer on the part of Charles to assist personally was rejected; so, too, was a suggestion of co-operation on the part of the Scots. But as fresh appeals for immediate assistance reached them from the Irish Government, the Commons resolved to adopt a proposal submitted to them by 'divers worthy and well-affected citizens' for raising money on the security of lands in Ireland forfeited by the Rebellion. It was suggested that, if two and a half million acres of profitable land were assigned as security there would be no difficulty in raising £1,000,000. A Bill embodying the suggestion was immediately submitted to Parliament, and having been agreed to by both Houses it received the King's assent on 24 February 1642. Unfortunately the project did not prove so popular as was anticipated. Englishmen have always manifested a reluctance to invest money in Irish securities. In the end and notwithstanding such encouragement as was given

by subsequent ordinances, substituting Irish measure for English, whereby 21 feet instead of 16½ were reckoned to the perch, and doubling the allowance of land for prompt payment, only £360,000 were raised. Worse than this, finding themselves shortly afterwards involved in war with Charles the Commons diverted £100,000 of the money so raised to what they miscalled 'the service of Ireland'. Meanwhile the Rebellion in Ireland showed signs of stagnating. After their first successes the rebels made little progress. Their desperate efforts to capture Drogheda, on which their attention was chiefly concentrated, had one and all been frustrated by Tichborne's vigilance. Encouraged by Tichborne's success the Lords Justices granted a commission to the Earl of Ormond to attempt its relief, but with express orders not to pass the limits of the Boyne. Ormond successfully accomplished his task, and returning to Dublin he was shortly commissioned to relieve the outlying garrisons in the Pale. He had already accomplished his object and was on his way back from Athy when he heard that Lord Mountgarret, at the head of 6,000 troops, was preparing to intercept him at the Barrow. Sending forward Sir Thomas Lucas with the cavalry to hold the rebels in check, Ormond attacked them at Kilrush and completely defeated them.

The Irish organize their Resistance. The battle of Kilrush, following so closely on the discomfiture of the northern rebels before Drogheda, greatly depressed the Catholic gentry of the Pale and, beginning to regret their hasty action, they made tentative overtures for a reconciliation with Government. But the Lords Justices, fancying their star to be in the ascendant and encouraged by the prospect of fresh confiscations, turned a deaf ear to their entreaties. Finding the door of mercy thus resolutely closed against them, a number of the leading gentry, acting on a suggestion of the Bishop of Ossory, David Rothe, met together at Kilkenny in May 1642 to organize their resistance. Pending the election of a General Assembly, a Supreme Council, consisting of two representatives from each province, with Lord Mount-

garret as chairman, was appointed to act as a provisional government. The appointment of the Supreme Council and the arrival in July of Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill with a body of veterans and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition in Lough Swilly, followed a week or two later by Colonel Thomas Preston at Wexford with 500 men and a train of artillery, put a more cheerful aspect on the affairs of the Confederates. The General Assembly met at Kilkenny on 24 October. In all but the name it was a parliament more truly representative of national feeling, though of necessity excluding the Protestants, than perhaps any that had ever sat in Ireland. After announcing its allegiance to the laws of the realm, in so far as these were not contrary to the Catholic religion, the Assembly elected a new Supreme Council of twenty-four members, being six from each province, to form a permanent government for the management of all civil and military affairs. For the administration of local justice, each county was provided with a county council and each province with a provincial council with power to revise the decisions of the county councils and to decide all suits like judges of assize. For military purposes each province was to possess its own army, under its own general—O'Neill for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, and John Burke for Connaught. The seal of the Confederation was to be a Latin cross with a harp on one side and a crown on the other, a dove above and a flaming heart below, the whole surrounded by the inscription *Pro Deo, pro rege et patria Hibernia unanimis.* Authority was given for the erection of a mint and the coining of £4,000 in silver and copper. Agents were appointed to represent the Confederates at the principal Catholic courts of Europe, and before separating the Assembly voted addresses to the King and Queen protesting their loyalty and requesting permission to submit their grievances personally to the King.

Charles concludes a Cessation of Arms with the Confederates. To Charles it was at the moment a matter of great importance

to come to terms with the Confederates. The day before the Assembly met the Civil War had broken out and the battle of Edgehill had been fought. The battle had ended better for Charles than he was perhaps entitled to expect; but numerically he was inferior to his opponents, and where every man counted it was distressing to reflect that, but for the Rebellion, he might have reckoned on an additional 6,000 soldiers. It was therefore greatly to his interest to set free his army in Ireland to fight his battles in England, by coming to terms with the Confederates. If by conceding the *Graces* he could have effected a settlement the matter would have been easily arranged. But since the battle of Kilrush the position of the Confederates had greatly improved, and now that the outbreak of the Civil War had crippled England's arm their demands had risen proportionately. On inquiry it was found that they now insisted not merely on the *Graces* but on the entire removal of their religious disabilities and the repeal of Poynings' Law. To neither of these two demands, as he informed Ormond, could Charles consent, but, if a cessation could be arranged, a revision of the plantations and a lenient interpretation of the penal laws might be promised. When Charles's instructions were opened at the Council table they were vehemently opposed by Parsons, and Ormond, meeting with no encouragement to discuss matters from the Confederates, once more took the field. He was fortunate enough to inflict a severe defeat on Preston near New Ross on 18 March 1643, and the Confederates, showing greater willingness to come to terms, offered, in the event of a 'free Parliament' being conceded, to assist Charles with 10,000 men. The condition was one that Charles could not agree to, but the offer of assistance was too tempting to be rejected, and Ormond was authorized to make every effort to effect a cessation. In order to facilitate matters Parsons was replaced by Sir Henry Tichborne. But the Confederates, perceiving Charles's eagerness, were not blind to their advantage, and insisting on their demand for a 'free Parlia-

ment', Ormond, in the hope of lowering their pride, again appealed to the sword. But Preston had been taught prudence by his former defeat, and Ormond, finding it impossible to draw him, reopened negotiations at Sigginstown near Naas in August. Eventually, despite a strong opposition led by the papal agent, Scarampi, a cessation of arms was concluded on 15 September to last for a year, in order to enable the Confederates to submit their case personally to Charles and if possible to arrange a permanent settlement.

Endeavours to turn the Cessation into a Peace. The Cessation afforded Charles the long-wished-for opportunity to withdraw his army from Ireland, and with the assistance of Ormond, whom he now appointed Lord Lieutenant, several regiments were transported to England in October and November. But the result was far from answering his expectations. For not only did the soldiers on reaching England display no zeal to fight for him but many of them seized the opportunity to desert to the Parliament. Worse than this, though the bulk of them were Protestants and many of them English, the fact that they came from Ireland gave rise to the belief that they were Irish rebels and cut-throat Papists. The imputation greatly damaged Charles's cause in England. At the same time the withdrawal of so many seasoned soldiers was, as Colonel Michael Jones afterwards pointed out to Ormond, a grave blunder and the prime cause of his subsequent misfortunes. Charles had not recovered from his disappointment when the agents of the Confederates arrived at Oxford in March 1644 to arrange terms of peace. Their demands were higher than ever, and practically amounted to a concession of legislative independence. The question was being argued, with little prospect of a settlement, when the arrival of a Protestant deputation objecting to any concessions to the Catholics enabled Charles to remit the matter back to Ormond. Unfortunately, by refusing Lord Inchiquin's well-grounded request for the Presidentship of Munster he at the same time greatly complicated

matters for Ormond. For, finding his services ignored, Inchiquin some time afterwards went over to the Parliament and took with him nearly all the English settlers in Munster. Charles's decision to leave the consideration of the Confederate's demands to Ormond placed that nobleman in a difficult position, and recognizing his inability to effect a satisfactory settlement he offered to resign his post. But Charles knew Ormond's merits too well to accept his resignation. With his reputation for straight dealing Ormond was at the moment absolutely indispensable to him: at the same time he was not the man to whom he could confide his secret wishes.

Negotiations for a Peace. In his dilemma Charles turned to Edward Somerset, titular Earl of Glamorgan. Glamorgan was a fervid Catholic: he was also a devoted friend of Charles and had already been of great financial assistance to him. By playing on his vanity Charles now persuaded Glamorgan to undertake a secret mission to Ireland. The object of the mission was to effect a treaty with the Confederates, not exactly behind Ormond's back, but by pledging Glamorgan's word of honour in the King's behalf, to concessions in the matter of religion, to which Ormond, had he been consulted, might possibly have objected. An untoward accident prevented Glamorgan reaching Ireland till August 1645. By that time, under Scarampi's influence, the Confederates had added to their demands one for the retention of all the churches that had come into their possession since October 1641. By persuading them to embody this and other demands in a secret treaty and coolly pledging Charles's consent to them, Glamorgan induced the Confederates to assent to Ormond's terms and, what was of more immediate importance, to agree to send over the 10,000 men so earnestly desired by Charles as soon as possible. Nothing, however, had been done in this latter particular, when an accident revealed the existence of the secret treaty to Parliament. Its existence was not, however, publicly known when a special ambassador arrived from Rome in

the person of Giovanni Battista Rinuccini. Naturally Rinuccini had to be informed of the secret treaty. From the first he manifested a great dislike to matters of such importance being settled in a hole and corner fashion, and his dislike was strengthened when Glamorgan's treaty became known. Rinuccini was all for open dealing. He had no confidence in Charles's sincerity. His object was to re-establish Catholicism in Ireland and to make that country a stepping-stone to the recovery of England. For Charles he had no more regard than he had for any other pawn in the game. Meanwhile the treaty having become known in England, it was immediately disowned by Charles and prompt orders sent for Glamorgan's imprisonment. But the disavowal and imprisonment were merely a blind. A week or two later Glamorgan was again at liberty and busily engaged in spinning a fresh treaty. But this time he had to deal directly with Rinuccini, and not all his protestations and promises to consent to any conditions, if only he could obtain the desired military assistance, were able to remove the Nuncio's scruples as to Charles's sincerity. Time, however, was slipping away, and Charles's position was becoming daily more desperate. To Marston Moor had succeeded Naseby. By the beginning of 1646 nearly every seaport on the west coast of England was in the hands of the Parliament. Moved by the danger of the situation the Confederates suddenly determined to accept the terms offered them by Ormond, and despite Rinuccini's opposition a Peace was concluded on 28 March. By the terms of the Peace a parliament was to be called before the end of November, with permission to substitute an oath of allegiance for that of Supremacy, to repeal the penal laws, confirm the *Graces*, and rescind all acts done to the detriment of the Catholics since 7 August 1641. Further concessions were to be left to Charles's sense of gratitude. The only drawback to the Peace was that it came too late to be of any use to either the Confederates or Charles.

Rinuccini's Triumph. Meanwhile Parliament had accepted an

offer from the Scots to assist in suppressing the rebellion in Ulster. The commander of the Scottish forces was Robert Monro, an experienced soldier, who had served with distinction on the Continent in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. Hitherto Monro had been sufficiently occupied in holding Owen Roe O'Neill in check; but now in consequence of the fierce dissensions to which the Peace had given rise amongst the Confederates, he conceived the idea of trying to surprise Kilkenny itself. With the object of throwing O'Neill off the scent a small force under Sir Robert Stewart was directed into Connaught while Monro himself, at the head of about 4,500 men, advanced rapidly southwards from Belfast in the direction of Clones in County Monaghan. Hearing shortly after he had left Armagh that O'Neill was lying with the bulk of his army at Benburb on the other side of the Blackwater, not far from where Bagenal had suffered his memorable defeat in Elizabeth's reign, Monro, in the hope of surprising him, turned northwards at Caledon, and crossing the Water of Oona suddenly fell on the flank of the Irish army. The battle was fiercely contested, but the Irish pikes were longer than the Scottish and at nightfall on 4 June the Scots were completely routed. A few days later Ireland was all agog with the news of O'Neill's great victory. Nothing more opportune could have happened to Rinuccini. With O'Neill's assistance the Nuncio succeeded in ousting his opponents from the Supreme Council, and having forbidden the proclamation of the Peace he shortly afterwards advanced on Dublin at the head of the Confederate army. Nothing, it was thought, could prevent him capturing that city, and believing himself unable to defend it Ormond offered to surrender it to the Parliament. His offer was accepted, and on 28 July 1647 Ormond handed over Dublin to Colonel Michael Jones. By so doing he undoubtedly preserved Ireland to England, but at the same time he earned the undying hatred of his countrymen.

Confederates lose Ground. With Jones in command affairs soon assumed a different complexion. Jones's task was rendered all the

easier by reason of the dissensions which, always latent between the north and the south, had recently, in consequence of Preston's jealousy of O'Neill, assumed a very violent character. Finding himself regarded with suspicion, O'Neill withdrew with his army into Connaught. His withdrawal afforded Preston a free hand, and hearing that Jones was occupied in re-establishing communications with Drogheda and other outlying garrisons he determined to make a dash for Dublin in the hope of surprising that place in Jones's absence. But Jones was not to be caught napping, and having effected a junction with Sir Henry Tichborne and the garrison of Drogheda he intercepted Preston at Dangan Hill, some four miles to the south-east of Trim, and completely routed his army on 8 August. Meanwhile Inchiquin, having, as we have seen, transferred his allegiance to the Parliament, had been laying Munster waste with fire and sword. His massacre of a crowd of unarmed peasants who had fled for safety to the Rock of Cashel exceeded in horror almost anything recorded in the blood-stained annals of Ireland, and rendered the name of Murrough 'of the Burnings' a by-word of reproach to posterity. Fearing that he might effect a junction with Jones the Supreme Council sent Lord Taaffe with 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse to hold him in check, but at Knockninass near Mallow Inchiquin cut Taaffe's army to pieces on 13 November. Taaffe's defeat following so closely on Preston's completed the discomfiture of the Confederates. North, south, east, and west they had lost ground. The danger that had long threatened ruin to Charles's cause was now beginning to cast its shadow over them, and in terror of what might happen if the King's cause collapsed entirely the Confederates determined, despite Rinuccini's remonstrances, to come to terms with him as quickly as possible.

Royalist Reaction. The situation was favourable to their design. The surrender of Charles by the Scots, followed by the meeting of the army leaders at Saffron Walden, instead of leading, as was expected, to active intervention in Ireland, had ended

in a quarrel between the Army and Parliament, of which Charles had taken immediate advantage to come to terms with the Scots' Commissioners. During the winter of 1647–8 signs of a royalist reaction in England became more pronounced, and in April 1648 it was known that the Scots were preparing to invade England. So hopeful did the situation appear that not only did Inchiquin revert to his allegiance, but the Confederates, in their new-found zeal for Charles, sent a pressing invitation to Ormond to return to his post. When Ormond landed at Cork on 29 September the ground was fully prepared for a complete reconciliation, and on 17 January 1649 a treaty was signed between him and the Confederates whereby, in return for an immediate grant of 15,000 foot and 500 horse, the latter were secured in the free exercise of their religion and the independence of their Parliament. The treaty was fiercely opposed by Rinuccini; but finding no one willing to listen to him he shortly afterwards left Ireland. Thirteen days after the treaty was signed Charles's head fell. The revulsion of feeling that followed the King's execution served to strengthen Ormond's position. In June he advanced against Dublin at the head of 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, while Inchiquin with 2,000 foot and 1,500 horse attacked Drogheda. Before the end of the month Drogheda surrendered, whereupon Ormond pushed his lines closer up to Dublin in the direction of Baggotrath. Unfortunately, unknown to him, Jones had meanwhile received considerable reinforcements from England, and, being misled by a rumour that Cromwell was preparing to land in Munster, Ormond detached Inchiquin at this critical moment with a considerable part of the army to oppose him there. Taking advantage of his mistake Jones suddenly attacked him, and before Ormond could recover from his surprise completely scattered his army. The battle of Rathmines, on 2 August, as this affair which cost Jones not more than twenty soldiers is called, decided the issue of the war. When Cromwell landed at Dublin ten days later, with 8,000 foot and 4,000 horse, he encountered no opposition.

Cromwell in Ireland. From Dublin Cromwell at once directed his march on Drogheda, which Ormond, after his defeat at Rathmines, had hastily garrisoned with the flower of his army under the command of Sir Arthur Aston. The fate of the town is well known. After meeting with a refusal to surrender on the part of the governor, Cromwell carried the place by storm on 10 September and put the whole garrison, amounting to about 2,300 men, together with a number of civilians and every priest on whom he could lay his hands—in all about 2,800 persons—to the sword. It was a terrible business, justifiable perhaps by the strict rules of war, but utterly useless, after the first terror it inspired had passed away, to effect its purpose of breaking down the resistance of the Irish. From Drogheda Cromwell, after detaching a strong force under Venables into Ulster, marched southwards on Wexford. Accident or treachery put that place in his possession, and its capture was followed by a repetition of the punishment meted out to Drogheda. A week later New Ross surrendered without a blow, and from New Ross Cromwell proceeded against Waterford. But Waterford was strongly garrisoned, and after wasting considerable time in trying to capture it Cromwell passed on to Youghal. His campaign had cost him dear. Half his army, including himself, was down with dysentery and, had it not been for the timely revolt of Inchiquin's army, it might have fared badly with him. As it was, the capitulation of the principal towns in Munster not only provided him with welcome winter quarters but enabled him to recruit his army for the coming campaign. Meanwhile Ormond was having a bad time of it. His defeat at Rathmines had completely cut the ground from underneath his feet and enabled the clerical faction formerly led by Rinuccini to recover its authority among the Confederates. In December there was a great meeting of the party at Clonmacnoise, followed by the publication of a manifesto calling on the Irish to lay aside their jealousies and join in one determined effort to oppose 'the common enemy commanded

by Cromwell'. But the only man who could have adequately answered the call, Owen Roe O'Neill, had just passed to his rest. Shortly before his death O'Neill had sent his nephew Hugh to Ormond's assistance, but the help he brought arrived too late and Hugh had been placed in charge of Clonmel. Thither, after capturing Kilkenny in March 1650, Cromwell marched. But never, not even in England, did Cromwell encounter such fierce resistance as he did at Clonmel. In the end, after sacrificing 2,000 men, he got possession of the place, but only to find that while he was negotiating O'Neill and his men had escaped. The capture of Clonmel was Cromwell's last exploit in Ireland. A fortnight after its surrender he handed over the command of the army to his son-in-law Ireton and sailed for England.

Complete Reduction of Ireland. During the summer the work of reducing Ireland was carried vigorously forward, and by the close of the year only Limerick, Galway, and Athlone, together with a number of isolated forts, remained in the hands of the Irish. Meanwhile Ormond had been labouring earnestly to repair the mischief his defeat at Rathmines had caused, but he no longer possessed the confidence of the Confederates, and finding, after Charles II's repudiation of the Peace of 1648–9, no object in remaining where he was not wanted, he transferred his authority to the Earl of Clanricarde and sailed from Galway for France in December. Charles's repudiation of the Peace, followed by Ormond's withdrawal, was treated by the Confederates as an indication of the Crown's indifference to their fate, and, regarding themselves at liberty to take what measures they liked for their own safety, they entered into negotiations with Duke Charles of Lorraine for placing the kingdom under his protection. The negotiations, owing to Clanricarde's opposition, came to nothing, and the incident would not be worth mentioning except for the disastrous effect it exercised on the claims of the Catholics at the Restoration. On the other hand, things were not proceeding very satisfactorily with Ireton. Owing to the vigorous resistance of the

Irish and especially to the obstinate defence of Limerick by Hugh O'Neill, Cromwell's opponent at Clonmel, the reduction of the country proved a bigger task than either Ireton or the Commissioners of Parliament, recently appointed for the management of civil affairs, had anticipated. In June 1651 Athlone was captured by Sir Charles Coote, and in October O'Neill, finding it impossible on account of an outbreak of the plague to hold out any longer, surrendered Limerick to Ireton. Galway still, however, continued to bid defiance to Coote, and there were still more than 30,000 Irishmen in arms. Moved by these considerations and the intolerable cost of maintaining the army of occupation, the Commissioners of Parliament early in 1652 held out an offer of more favourable treatment as an inducement to the Irish to submit. The offer, coupled with the surrender of Galway in April, broke the back of the Irish resistance. In May terms, known as the Articles of Kilkenny, were concluded for a general capitulation, conceding to all who surrendered, except such as had been guilty of murder in the first year of the Rebellion, the liberty to transport themselves abroad. It was a small concession, but it was calculated that during the summer no fewer than 34,000 Irish soldiers took advantage of the opportunity thus given them to quit the country.

Settlement of Ireland. The war that had raged with intermittent fury for eleven years was at an end, and Ireland was conquered as she had never been conquered before. The hour when retribution was to be demanded for all the innocent blood that had been shed since the outbreak of the Rebellion had arrived. Such at any rate was the view taken of the situation by Englishmen. The plan of retribution had long ago been formulated in the Act for the confiscation and sale of Ireland passed by the Long Parliament shortly after the outbreak of the Rebellion. Since that Act had been passed ten years had elapsed, and the cost of reducing Ireland, then calculated at £1,000,000, had swollen to more than twice that amount. At the rates laid down in the

Adventurers' Act more than five out of the twelve million acres composing the arable land of Ireland were required to meet the debt. To provide this necessary fund an Act, called the Act of Settlement, was passed on 12 August 1652. For the purposes of the Act the whole of Ireland was regarded as confiscated property, and to this end all Irishmen, to whatever race they belonged—English, Scots, or Irish—who could not prove their innocence and constant good affection to the Commonwealth of England, were taken to have been guilty of rebellion and were to be punished either by the loss of life and property or of property alone, wholly or partial according to the degree of their guilt as specified in the qualifications set forth in the Act. Appended to the Act was a long list of those excepted by name from pardon of life and estate. Among them were persons of such different quality as Ormond, Bishop Bramhall, Sir George Monro, and Sir Phelim O'Neill. To decide the case of those charged with crimes touching their lives a High Court of Justice was appointed to be erected, while a Court of Qualifications was established to determine the amount of property to be forfeited. A fund of land having been thus obtained for the liquidation of the debt due to the army and adventurers, the next step taken was to arrange for its distribution. This was accomplished by what was called the Act of Satisfaction. For the purposes of the Act Ireland was divided into two parts—the one comprising the Province of Connaught and County of Clare, the other the three other provinces : the former to meet all claims on the part of such Irish proprietors (hence called Transplanters) as should manage to save any part of their lands in any part of the kingdom, the latter for the satisfaction of the soldiers and adventurers. Having thus in a general way provided for the settlement of the country, the next procedure was to clear the three provinces of their dispossessed proprietors and to measure the lands to be allotted to the individual soldiers and adventurers. The former was a difficult task, and it was only accomplished at the sword's point and after inflicting cruel hard-

ships on the Transplanters. The admeasurement of the lands was eventually carried out to everybody's entire satisfaction by Sir William Petty, and by 1 May 1659 the last adventurer had been settled on the lands allotted to him. One result of the Transplantation was a great increase of vagabondage. Many old retainers had to be turned adrift, and not being able to find a livelihood they prowled about the country pilfering what they could. To put an end to this nuisance Government caused many of them—men, women, and children—to be arrested and transported to the West Indies, where they were, if not exactly sold into slavery, at any rate hired out on hard terms to the planters. We have no means of knowing how many persons were thus transported, but the number must have been considerable if we may trust the statement that the Irish brogue noticeable in parts of the West Indian islands to-day is traceable to these enforced settlers. Moreover, we know that the demand was so great that in order to supply it the planters' agents took to kidnapping Englishmen, whereupon Government interfered and stopped the traffic.

The Settlement and the Restoration. Before the Protectorate came to an end the Settlement of Ireland as conceived by Cromwell was an accomplished fact. The dream of English statesmen from the time of Surrey and St. Leger seemed at last to have been realized. By her incorporation with England under the Instrument of Government Ireland had been deprived of her legislative independence. By the care with which her representation in the Parliament of England had been regulated no one but a loyal Protestant could be returned. Ireland, so long a thorn in the side of England, had herself become another little England beyond the Channel. The Irish problem had ceased to exist. So Englishmen thought. But hardly had Charles II recovered the throne from which his father had been forcibly ejected than things in Ireland were once more turned topsy-turvy. With excusable impatience the dispossessed proprietors, trusting to Charles's hatred of the Cromwellians, began to flock back to their old homes,

and in some instances to take forcible possession of them. But much as Charles might hate the Cromwellians his hands were bound. It was to repentant Cromwellians, like Monck and Broghill, not to royalists, like Clarendon and Ormond, that he owed his restoration ; and so far as Ireland was concerned Broghill and his friends were determined that nothing should upset the Settlement. They were willing that Charles's personal enemies, the regicides, should pay the penalty of their crime, and that his personal friends should recover their estates. But to a general restoration of the dispossessed proprietors they would not listen, and they knew that the English Parliament, however subservient it might otherwise be to Charles, would back them up in this respect. But the Irish were not to be easily put down. They possessed a strong advocate in Colonel Dick Talbot, better known by his subsequent title of Duke of Tyrconnel, the bosom friend of the King's brother, James, and Talbot was resolved that come what might he would never rest till he had upset the Settlement. In his dilemma Charles clutched at a suggestion thrown out by the Broghillites that a careful investigation would probably reveal a sufficiency of land, without touching the Settlement, to satisfy all just claims. On the basis of this suggestion Charles published a declaration dealing with the whole question in November 1660. The Declaration, with the Instructions attached to it, were submitted to the Irish Parliament in May 1661. The Declaration, being a mere platonic expression of the King's goodwill, found easy acceptance, but the Instructions gave rise to a fierce controversy, and in the end the matter was remitted back to the King. In London, owing to James's support, the Irish held a strong position ; but their case was badly managed, and Charles, being made acquainted with their intrigues with the Duke of Lorraine, promptly closed the discussion. A bill embodying the Declaration and Instructions was drawn up, and being passed by the Irish Parliament received the royal assent in September 1662. The backbone of the Act of Settlement was the establishment

by it of a Court of Claims. It was hoped by the Broghillites that few Irish would establish their claims to innocence. But, to their surprise, before the Court had sat a month twenty-one out of the twenty-seven claims considered by it were admitted. The Cromwellians were alarmed. A plot was soon on foot to seize Dublin Castle and upset the Government. But the plot was discovered, and the punishment meted out to those implicated in it exercised a sobering effect on the malcontents. The result was a bill, called a Bill for the Explanation of the Act of Settlement, whereby the Cromwellians consented to surrender one-third of the property in their possession on 7 May 1659 in order to provide a fund for the reprisal of innocent Irish. The Bill led to a violent ebullition of ill-feeling in the Commons and swords were drawn, but eventually it became law on 23 December 1665. The episode was closed. Taking the total arable (including pasture) land of Ireland at about 12,000,000 statute acres, its distribution at this time was as follows :

Cromwellians	4,560,037
Old English colonists	3,900,000
Innocent Irish, including Transplanters	2,323,809
Retained by Irishmen of 'good affection'	600,000
Remaining unappropriated in towns, &c.	824,391
	12,208,237

Attempt to Upset the Settlement. As it stood, by the Act of Explanation, the Settlement was entirely unsatisfactory to Talbot and his friends. There were still hundreds of dispossessed proprietors whose claims it was quite impossible to satisfy on the basis of the Act. The author of that Act was Ormond, for whom, in consequence, Talbot now conceived a fierce hatred. Like all moderate men, anxious to reconcile the claims of conflicting parties, Ormond was exposed to the attacks of both. He was hated by the dispossessed Catholic proprietors and disliked by the Cromwellians. Hitherto he had managed to hold his own for pretty much the same reasons that Clarendon retained his position in England. Both of them belonged to the old *régime*. Both of

them had been the devoted servants of Charles I. To both of them Charles II was bound by every tie of gratitude. But to Charles the restraining influence they exerted on him was daily becoming more irksome. Both were strong Protestants, and both from their own point of view constitutionalists. Charles was by nature neither. His predilection for Roman Catholicism, though concealed from his subjects, was no secret to his intimate friends; his distaste of control rendered him an ardent admirer of absolutism as personified in his friend Louis XIV. To those acquainted with his wishes it was an easy matter to convince him that the first step to their realization was the removal of Clarendon and Ormond. In the case of the latter a willing tool was found in Lord Broghill, now Earl of Orrery, to whom the prospect of succeeding to the viceroyalty was a sufficient inducement to countenance a charge preferred against Ormond of misapplication of the revenue. Ormond removed, Orrery's claims were ignored, and the office of Lord Lieutenant was conferred on Lord Robartes. Robartes was a strict Presbyterian; but he was an earnest advocate of toleration, and it was hoped that his appointment might lead to the extension of toleration to the Roman Catholics. Unfortunately, Robartes proved personally objectionable to the Irish, and after a short trial he was replaced by Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Berkeley was a Protestant, but his wife was a Catholic, and so was his secretary, Sir Ellis Leighton. With Leighton's assistance and the connivance of Berkeley, Talbot, who had now taken upon himself the office of manager of Irish affairs, succeeded in obtaining an official recognition of Roman Catholicism and also in securing the appointment of a commission to inquire into the working of the Act of Settlement. His success, however, in this latter particular alarmed the Cromwellians, and the matter being taken up by the English Parliament Charles was obliged to remove Talbot from all his offices and banish him from court. Shortly afterwards Berkeley was recalled and his place taken by Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex.

Attempt to Upset the Settlement Checked. The first attempt to reverse the Act of Settlement had failed, but neither Charles nor Talbot was discouraged. Essex's appointment was an attempt to achieve by roundabout methods what Berkeley's had been intended to effect directly. The Act of Settlement had authorized the establishment of certain new rules for the regulation of corporations. These rules were intended to strengthen the position of the Cromwellians in the boroughs; but it was hoped that, by conceding a dispensing power to the Crown as regarded the admission of Roman Catholics, the disadvantage under which the latter were placed by the rules for their exclusion might be redressed. Though a strong Protestant, Essex was too devoted to Charles to resist the proposal, and by a liberal interpretation of the dispensing powers of the Crown the way was prepared for the ultimate capture of most of the parliamentary boroughs by the Roman Catholics. Further than this, however, Essex refused to go, and, certain differences arising between him and the farmers of the Revenue, the opportunity was taken in 1677 to recall him and transfer the Government once more to Ormond. Ormond's reappointment, under pressure of events in England, was a great surprise and a source of intense satisfaction to Irish Protestants. Unfortunately, before Ormond had been many weeks in office England was thrown into a state of violent commotion by the discovery of what is called the Popish Plot. Being convinced that, so far as Ireland was concerned, the discovery was a mare's nest, Ormond was at first inclined to regard the plot with contempt. His attitude was disapproved by the managers of the plot, and in self-defence he was compelled to take such measures for the repression of the Catholics as if the country was on the verge of rebellion. Among the victims of the plot was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket. Plunket was a perfectly harmless individual, and the charge of high treason preferred against him so ludicrous that no bill could be found against him in Ireland; but being ordered to England he was,

despite his protestations of innocence, condemned to death and executed.

The Attempt to Upset the Settlement Renewed. The judicial murder of Archbishop Plunket was speedily followed by the collapse of the plot. The revulsion of feeling that ensued left Charles master of the situation. The failure of the Rye House Plot merely confirmed his position, and for the first time in his reign he felt himself able to pursue an independent policy. To Talbot the situation seemed opportune for renewing his endeavours to procure a reversal, or at any rate a revision, of the Act of Settlement. With this object in view he obtained Charles's consent to recall Ormond, to divide the civil from the military power, and to issue a Commission of Grace for the purpose nominally of enabling the Cromwellians to strengthen their titles, but really, by exacting a considerable fine from them, of providing a fund for the compensation of the dispossessed Catholic proprietors. Something had already been effected in this direction when Charles died. With James's accession Talbot's opportunity to carry out his long-cherished plan of repealing the Act of Settlement seemed to have come at last. To mask his intentions the viceroyalty was conferred on the Earl of Clarendon, but from the first the real director of Irish affairs was Talbot, now Earl of Tyrconnel. In view of his own prospective assumption of the office of Lord Lieutenant, and with the object of shifting from himself the odium attaching to such proceedings, Tyrconnel now insisted on Clarendon's instituting certain administrative changes for the purpose of placing the balance of power in the hands of the Roman Catholics. Monmouth's rebellion had already served him as a pretext for reforming the army by substituting as many Catholics as possible for Protestants. With Clarendon's help he now sought to secure control of the judicial bench, the magistracy, and municipal corporations; but, Clarendon proving less servile than he had expected, he procured his recall and his own appointment in January 1687. Tyrconnel's appointment as Lord Lieutenant

was the signal for a general exodus of all such Protestants as could by any means remove themselves and their goods to England and Scotland. Tyrconnel watched their departure with composure. Their departure, in his opinion, only rendered his task the easier. During the summer the work of remodelling Government in all its branches was pushed rapidly forward, and early in 1688 a bill for repealing the Act of Settlement was transmitted to England for the sanction of the Privy Council. But here Tyrconnel overshot his mark. The Bill, though it was accompanied by a bribe of £40,000 to the President of the Council, the Earl of Sunderland, was rejected. Englishmen, it appeared, were too well aware of their own interest in Ireland to consent to any such scheme.

The Protestants on the Defensive. Meanwhile James had become involved in a serious quarrel with his English subjects. The trial of the seven bishops in June brought matters to a crisis, and feeling that his army was not to be trusted he appealed to Tyrconnel for military assistance. In order to answer his call Tyrconnel denuded Londonderry of its garrison; but speedily recognizing the risk he was thereby running he ordered the Marquis of Antrim to proceed thither with his regiment. Antrim's regiment was notorious for its plundering propensities, and as the citizens of Londonderry watched the approach of the soldiers with heavy hearts the apprentices of the city, seized 'by a strange impulse', closed the gates in their face. The attitude of Derry was immediately imitated by Enniskillen and Sligo, and Tyrconnel, seeing the necessity for prompt action, sent Richard Hamilton with a strong force into Ulster to restore order there early in 1689. At Dromore Hamilton came up with a considerable body of Protestants under the command of Sir Arthur Rawdon and Major Baker, but after a short resistance the Protestants broke and fled, some to Coleraine, others to Enniskillen and Derry. Two days before the 'Break of Dromore', as this incident is called, James landed at Kinsale, accompanied by a number of

French and English officers. From Cork, where he was met by Tyrconnel, he proceeded to Dublin. It was James's intention, after reducing Ireland to his obedience, to cross over to Scotland, where Viscount Dundee and the Duke of Gordon, having raised the Highlands and taken possession of Edinburgh Castle, were anxiously awaiting his arrival. His intention was not approved by Tyrconnel, who, having got him in Ireland, was anxious to detain him there until Parliament had met and repealed the Act of Settlement. To Louis XIV, with whose assistance he hoped to recover his crown, James was a mere pawn in the great game he was playing against William and the Emperor Leopold. By supporting James, Louis hoped to find William sufficient occupation at home to prevent him interfering on the Continent. Full of his intention to get to Scotland as soon as possible, James, after issuing writs for a meeting of Parliament in May, proceeded in person at the head of his army against Derry. It was hoped that his presence and the overwhelming force with which he was attended would bring the recalcitrant citizens to their senses. The opinion was shared by Colonel Lundy, to whom the defence of Derry had been entrusted, and James, having reached the outskirts of the city on 18 April, was negotiating for a surrender when a cannon-ball, fired either accidentally or of set purpose, came dangerously near to cutting his career short. Apologies followed, but that same night Lundy, finding himself suspected of treason, fled, and the defence of the city being placed in more determined hands, Londonderry entered on her famous fifteen weeks' siege.

Act of Settlement Repealed. Disappointed in his hopes of reaching Scotland James returned to Dublin to meet the Parliament he had recklessly agreed to call. His position was an awkward one. For, being anxious above all things to regain possession of England, he fully recognized the importance of Louis's advice to do nothing that would alienate the sympathies of his English well-wishers. To consent to a repeal of the Act of Settlement he clearly saw

would destroy his chance of recovering his throne. But he was entirely at Tyrconnel's mercy, and Tyrconnel was determined that, whether he liked it or not, he would have to consent to its repeal. In the end James had to do Tyrconnel's bidding, and likewise to give his assent to an Act attainting by name more than two thousand of his Protestant Irish subjects. Meanwhile, in England all eyes were directed to Derry. So long as Derry held out Ireland was not entirely lost. But would she be able to hold out till relief reached her? This was the question agitating all men's minds. But Major-General Kirke, to whom the relief of the city had been committed, displayed little energy. For weeks he lay with his fleet at the mouth of the Foyle, afraid apparently to run the risk of attacking the boom that the besiegers had stretched across the river. In the end, consequent on peremptory orders from General Schomberg, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the forces for Ireland, the attempt was made, and on 28 July Derry was relieved. The relief of Derry, followed three days later by the defeat of Viscount Mountcashel, to whom the reduction of Enniskillen had been entrusted, by Colonel Wolseley at Newtown Butler, completely altered the aspect of affairs. A fortnight afterwards (13 August) Schomberg landed at Bangor in County Down at the head of an army, which rumour placed at 20,000 seasoned troops. As a matter of fact Schomberg's army consisted of barely 14,000 men, mostly raw recruits, badly drilled, inefficiently officered, and inadequately provisioned. From Bangor Schomberg, after wasting a full fortnight in reducing Carrickfergus, marched slowly southwards in the direction of Dundalk. Hearing of his approach James advanced to meet him at the head of about 20,000 men. But De Rosen, who commanded the Irish army, not knowing his opponent's actual strength, hesitated to attack, and Schomberg finding it impossible, owing to lack of provisions, to take the offensive, entrenched himself at the foot of the Black Mountains to the north-east of Dundalk. For the rest of the summer both armies lay inactively watching

each other till the commencement of the wet season drove both of them into winter quarters.

The Battle of the Boyne. The result of the campaign, though only what might have been expected in the circumstances, was a great disappointment to William, and in his eagerness to put an end to the Irish business as speedily as possible he announced his intention to take command of the army himself. The winter and spring were spent in feverish exertions on both sides to prepare for the decisive struggle. On 14 June 1690 William himself landed at Carrickfergus, and after reviewing his army he at once set out in the direction of Dublin. On 30 June he came up with James's army at the River Boyne. As he was inspecting the position taken up by the latter his presence was detected from the opposite side of the river, and he at once became the object of some sharp artillery practice. Fortunately, though knocked from his horse by a passing cannon-ball, he was not seriously injured, and next morning he was able to lead the attack. The battle, as is well known, ended in the complete discomfiture of James's army. From a military point of view the battle of the Boyne was a small affair. But it saved the situation for England. It did not, as William hoped it would do, put an end to the war, and had not James, by the reports he spread on the Continent of the hopelessness of the situation, misled Louis, it might even have failed to produce the effect it did. As it was, James's flight greatly discouraged Tyrconnel, and though his army managed to escape practically intact to Limerick the position of affairs appeared to him so hopeless that, when William, after vainly endeavouring to induce the Protestants to concede favourable terms to the Irish, followed him thither, he withdrew to Galway with the intention of joining his august master in France. Fortunately his view of the situation was not shared by Sarsfield, on whom the defence of Limerick now devolved. Hearing that William's heavy artillery was still on the way, Sarsfield crossed the Shannon at Killaloe with a body of cavalry, and winding his way

round the back of William's army intercepted his artillery at Ballyneety and blew up the entire train. His action destroyed William's hope of capturing Limerick, and the wet season setting in, William, after several futile attempts to storm the city, quitted Ireland.

The End of the War. Sarsfield's success had completely altered the aspect of affairs, and, with the object of obtaining speedy assistance from Louis, Tyrconnel shortly afterwards sailed from Galway. The situation, owing to the capture of Cork and Kinsale in October by the future Duke of Marlborough, was critical in the extreme and, as month after month passed away without any sign of help arriving, even Sarsfield began to despair. At the beginning of May 1691, however, General St. Ruth, accompanied by a number of French officers, arrived at Limerick with large supplies of ammunition and provisions. It was high time that relief came. A few weeks later the commander-in-chief of the English army, General De Ginkel, took the field at the head of about 20,000 seasoned troops and a train of artillery such as Ireland had never before seen. On 19 June he sat down before Athlone. The town commanding the main entrance into Connaught was deemed impregnable, and in the belief that De Ginkel's attack was merely a feint, St. Ruth, after strengthening its defences, concentrated his army lower down the Shannon. The summer, however, happened to be a very dry one, and De Ginkel, after vainly endeavouring to force the bridge, was on the point of retiring when he was induced to take advantage of the lowness of the river to try to ford it. The attempt succeeded, and before the Irish on the opposite bank were well aware of his purpose the place was in his hands. Hearing to his surprise and chagrin that Athlone had fallen, St. Ruth withdrew his army in the direction of Galway. At the Hill of Aughrim he halted, and recognizing the advantages of the position he determined to give battle there. His forecast proved correct, and, the Irish fighting like grim death, victory seemed within his reach, when a cannon-ball put an end to his life and the hopes of the Irish. Left practically without a leader,

the Irish, after fighting for a time in disorder, broke and fled. No quarter was given them and nightfall alone put an end to the slaughter. From Aughrim De Ginkel pushed on to Galway. His summons to surrender was rejected by the Governor, General D'Usson; but the favourable terms offered by De Ginkel made an effect on the citizens, and at their entreaty D'Usson consented to capitulate. From Galway De Ginkel marched on Limerick, the last stronghold in the possession of the Irish. The city was defended by Sarsfield, but the situation was no longer what it had been. St. Ruth had been beaten, and there was little likelihood, it was thought, of fresh help being furnished by Louis. Fortune, too, once more played into De Ginkel's hands, and the citizens, seeing themselves, after his capture of Thomond Bridge, surrounded on all sides, insisted on Sarsfield's coming to terms. The struggle was at an end, and the Treaty of Limerick having been signed on 30 October Sarsfield surrendered the city to De Ginkel.

The Treaty of Limerick. The Treaty, or rather treaties, of Limerick, for it consisted of two parts—a civil and a military—is an important event in Irish history. By the military treaty it was agreed that all persons of whatever quality or condition soever, including officers and soldiers with their wives and families and portable goods, were to be allowed to remove to France or any country on the Continent they liked and that De Ginkel was to find shipping for them. By the civil treaty it was conceded that the Irish Catholics should enjoy all those religious rights which they possessed in the reign of Charles II, with such further privileges as their Majesties, William and Mary, might, with the consent of Parliament, in the future procure for them, and that they, with all Irish still in arms, who should immediately submit, should be secured in the free and undisputed possession of their estates as they possessed them under the Act of Settlement. Of the military treaty it is only necessary to remark that, despite certain differences of opinion as to its interpretation, nearly ending in a quarrel between Sarsfield and De Ginkel, it was

faithfully observed by both sides, and that before the close of the year 12,000 Irishmen in arms, who took advantage of it, had left the country. The civil treaty stands on a different footing. Primarily it was William's work. In his eagerness to secure the co-operation of the Emperor Leopold in his European policy William had pledged his word to do his best for his Catholic subjects. As the Treaty shows, he kept his word. The Treaty accorded the Irish as favourable terms as they could reasonably expect. But in order to make it valid the Treaty had to be confirmed by the Irish Parliament. As is well known, the Irish Parliament, after postponing its consideration for several years, eventually in 1697 refused to confirm it. Why? The answer to this question furnishes the clue to the history of Ireland during the first half of the eighteenth century. Irish Protestants, it must be remembered, had recently had a hard time of it. During Tyrconnel's régime they had seen their property confiscated and their lives imperilled. They were determined that now they had got the upper hand of their enemies the latter should never again have it in their power to create a fresh rebellion. To effect their object they were even prepared to barter some of their rights to the English Parliament, or, as Grattan expressed it, to kneel to England on the necks of their Catholic countrymen. It was this spirit, partly of fear and partly of a desire for revenge, that gave birth to the Penal Laws and led to the subordination of the Irish Parliament to that of England.

PART V

Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1800

Relations between England and Ireland. The Treaty of Limerick marks the beginning of a new period in Irish history—the period known as that of the Protestant Ascendancy. This period lasted fully three-quarters of a century, and it was largely in order to heal

the breaches subsequently made in Protestant Ascendancy that the Act of Union was effected. It is well to bear this fact in mind. Had England so desired it she could readily, so far as Ireland was concerned, have effected a legislative union in 1691; but she did not wish to do so. She was determined, now that the Rebellion had been crushed, to treat Ireland as a subject colony. Never again should Ireland have it in her power to defy her. Without consulting the wishes of Irishmen, if we may so designate the English colonists in Ireland, the English Parliament in 1691 passed an Act rendering it obligatory on every member of the Irish Parliament to take an oath declaratory of disbelief in Transubstantiation. By that Act it closed the Irish Parliament to Irish Catholics, but without depriving them of the elective franchise. That was first done by the Irish Parliament itself in 1727. In 1691 the Irish House of Commons consisted of three hundred members. Of these fully one-half were merely the nominees of individual patrons. On its first meeting after the Revolution, in October 1691, the Irish Parliament readily acquiesced in the English Act excluding the Catholics, but when the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Sidney, in pursuance of the plan for reducing Ireland to the position of a Crown colony, insisted on regulating taxation, the Irish Commons rebelled and asserted their own right to originate Money Bills. Being unable to carry his point, Sidney dissolved Parliament. The country, however, was still in a very disturbed condition, and the Protestants, fearing a fresh rising of the Catholics, consented to waive their right to originate Money Bills on condition (1) that their operation was limited to two years, and (2) that they were allowed a free hand to deal with the Catholics as they liked. One result of this compact was that the Irish Parliament only met in alternate years for the purpose of providing a revenue. Having seen to this the Lord Lieutenant returned to England, leaving the further management of affairs to the Lords Justices, who were usually the Lord Chancellor and either the Primate or the Archbishop of Dublin. The

consequence of Parliament only meeting in alternate years was to establish a theory, carefully fostered by the borough proprietors, that only the death of the sovereign could cause a dissolution.

The Penal Laws. Having thus as it were purchased the right to deal with the Catholics as it liked, the Irish Parliament proceeded to the construction of that Penal Code which Burke accurately described as a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people and the debasement in them of human nature itself as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man. It has been attempted to excuse the Penal Laws on the ground that they were not rigorously enforced. This appears to be a mistake. The Penal Laws were enforced as rigidly as any other laws, and they were constantly being added to and strengthened in order to meet the attempts of the Catholics to evade them. So far as a Catholic layman was concerned he was not allowed to educate his children by sending them to a Catholic seminary either at home or abroad. He himself might not be a schoolmaster nor might he hold any office under the Crown. He could not receive a legacy in land, nor could he take a lease for a longer period than thirty-one years. His wife, if she became a Protestant, could sue him for separate maintenance and could become the guardian of his children. If he married a Protestant possessing land or property to the value of £500, his wife forfeited her property. If his children became Protestants, they passed out of his control, and his eldest son, if he liked, could deprive him of all but a life interest in his estate. If his children continued Catholics, he was obliged on his death to divide his estate equally amongst them. He could not sit in Parliament, nor could he after 1727 vote at parliamentary elections. He was debarred from being a magistrate or a justice of the peace, and could not become a member of any trade-guild or corporation. He might not practise as a lawyer, nor might he, if he was engaged in trade, employ more than two apprentices. He was absolutely forbidden to carry arms or engage

in the manufacture of weapons, and unless included in the military articles of the Treaty of Limerick, he might not wear the small-sword which was the usual sign of a gentleman of birth. All his life long he was exposed to the malicious practices of the spy and informer, and at his death he could not, if he desired it, be buried in any ancient churchyard or monastery sacred to the memory of his ancestors. For a Catholic clergyman the punishment was exile and instant transportation after 1 May 1698, followed in the event of return by the penalties of high treason. To the credit of the Catholic priests it must be said that the terrors of the Penal Laws served rather to stimulate than diminish their zeal. Though exposed to spy and informer and hunted down like wild beasts, their numbers continued to grow, till at last Government, after threatening them with branding and mutilation, seeing the hopelessness of exterminating them, held its hand and tried other methods, chief among which was that of proselytism by means of the Charter Schools. Of these schools, established by Archbishop Boulter in 1733, 'to rescue the souls of poor children from the dangers of Popish superstition and idolatry', it is sufficient to say that they effected a minimum of good at the expense of intense suffering on the part of their victims.

Effects of the Penal Laws. Of the evil effects of the Penal Laws the history of Ireland during the first half of the eighteenth century is one continuous commentary. Being forbidden to take leases of land for a longer period than thirty-one years, many Catholics engaged in rearing cattle for the provision trade. They thus accumulated considerable wealth, but not being allowed to purchase lands they invested their money in other countries. In this way Ireland was drained of a considerable part of her metallic currency. This drain, taken in connexion with the enormous rents (£1,000,000 annually it was calculated) transmitted to absentee landlords, constituted a serious drawback to the financial stability of the country. At the beginning of the century Ireland

was not merely a corn-producing but a corn-exporting country. In consequence, however, of the large profits to be made in the provision trade a tendency soon displayed itself to convert arable land into pasture. The tendency was strengthened by the Commercial Treaties of 1715–16. Gradually Ireland ceased to be a corn-exporting country. The change was felt to be advantageous by the English farmer, and when the Irish Parliament, in view of recurrent famines, interfered with a law compelling Irish landlords to set aside five acres in every hundred for tillage, the measure was discountenanced by the English Government. Thus the change from arable to pasture went on unchecked, till finally, by the disfranchisement of the Catholics in 1727, an actual premium was placed on the process. For, finding their Catholic tenants no longer politically important to them, landlords deliberately cleared their estates of them and substituted cattle. No doubt many Catholics profited largely by the cattle trade, but for the Irish peasantry the conversion of arable land into pasture meant absolute ruin. From this time forward their life became one constant struggle against starvation, with the result that in 1729 it was calculated that there were nearly 35,000 professional beggars strolling about the country. Nothing, it appeared, could check the demand for grazing land, and it was mainly to the attempts to enclose the public commons for that purpose that the first agrarian rising or Whiteboy movement, at the beginning of the second half of the century, was due. All these evils, and others we have no space to mention, if not directly attributable to the Penal Laws were unquestionably aggravated by them.

Subordination of Ireland to England. To turn now to a consideration of the effects of the claim made by England to treat Ireland as a colony. One of the most notable and immediate results of the Cromwellian settlement was the rise of a vigorous trade in live stock. In their desire to turn their newly acquired estates to immediate advantage, the Cromwellian settlers had

taken to growing cattle for the English market. The result was a wild outcry on the part of the English farmer, followed in 1666 by an English Act of Parliament forbidding the importation of Irish live stock into England. Checked in this direction, the settlers took to slaughtering their own cattle, with the result that they established a flourishing provision trade and not merely cut out the English farmer from the Continent, but absorbed to themselves the provisioning of the English navy. Further, finding themselves burdened with vast quantities of wool, which they were unable to dispose of profitably in England, they established a woollen industry of their own. In consequence of the woollen industry and a number of other trades that followed in its wake, Ireland became a comparatively prosperous country in Charles II's reign. The war of the Revolution naturally led to a decline in the industrial prosperity of the country, but after the Treaty of Limerick the woollen industry was so successfully revived that English manufacturers began to clamour for protection. The Irish Parliament showed a willingness to meet them half-way by placing countervailing duties on all manufactured woollen goods exported from Ireland, but this concession not satisfying the English manufacturers and the clamour for protection continuing, the English Parliament interfered in 1699 with an Act practically prohibiting the export of all woollen goods from Ireland. The Act killed the Irish woollen industry for all but the home trade. On the other hand, it did not greatly benefit English manufacturers. For, Irish wool being in great demand on the Continent, vast quantities were smuggled abroad, with the result that, many countries being thus enabled to establish woollen manufactories of their own, the demand for English manufactured goods disappeared. This, however, was little consolation to Irish manufacturers, and, seeing it impossible to carry on, they too withdrew from Ireland, taking their capital with them. The action of the English Parliament was naturally resented by Irishmen, and its right being challenged by William Molyneux in his famous book,

The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated, the English Parliament not merely condemned Molyneux's book, but, in order to put an end to further controversy on the subject, passed an Act in 1719, known as the Act of 6 George I, asserting its absolute right to make laws binding on Ireland.

Rising Indignation against England. The result of the destruction of the woollen trade, taken in connexion with the heavy export of bullion in the form of rents and pensions and the investments by Catholics in foreign securities, was the progressive depletion of the metal currency of the country. So rapid was the decline that in 1720 it was found necessary to provide Ireland with a new copper coinage. To meet this necessity a patent to coin a large quantity of half-pence was granted to the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal. The Duchess sold her rights to an ironmaster of the name of Wood, who at once proceeded to strike off a number of coins. Some of these coins, apparently of admirable quality, had already found their way into the country when the matter was taken up by Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Though an Irishman, Swift was not enamoured of the Irish, but fortunately for them he was at the time on the outlook for a stick wherewith to beat the Whigs. Such a stick he found in Wood's half-pence. In the character of a Dublin draper, Swift published a series of letters in which, after criticizing the terms of Wood's patent and dilating on the harm the new coins would do, he proceeded, with more regard to reason, to condemn the general policy pursued by England since the Revolution to Ireland. His indictment culminated in the assertion that 'all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery'. A stirring agitation following the publication of *The Drapier's Letters*, Government instituted a prosecution of the printer, but the prosecution broke down, and Sir Robert Walpole, seeing that Ireland was becoming inconveniently independent, determined to appoint a resident Englishman as manager of Irish affairs. The person chosen for the post was Hugh Boulter,

Bishop of Bristol, now created Archbishop of Armagh. Boulter's task was to keep Ireland dependent on England: his method of doing so was simplicity itself. As we have remarked, the Irish House of Commons consisted of three hundred members, of whom nearly two-thirds were the nominees of a comparatively small number of borough proprietors. It was Boulter's plan, by restricting all offices of State to such of those proprietors as were willing to take their orders from him, to purchase the subservience of Parliament. His plan proved the thin end of the wedge of corruption that was eventually to lead to the downfall of the Irish Parliament.

The Undertakers. So long as Boulter held office (1724–42) the system of government through and by the Undertakers worked admirably. All sound of opposition was hushed in Ireland, and to the outside world she had the appearance of being a peaceable and contented country. But such a system had its limitations. As the Undertakers absorbed to themselves all the remunerative offices of State, they became less willing to take their orders from Government. Symptoms of revolt showed themselves during the time of Boulter's successor, Archbishop Hoadly, and when on Hoadly's death in 1747 Archbishop Stone became manager of Irish affairs, that ambitious prelate, finding himself overshadowed by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Henry Boyle, called from his parliamentary influence the King of Ireland, determined to reassert his authority. His plan was, by throwing his influence on the side of Boyle's rival, John Ponsonby, to effect the former's downfall. Possibly his scheme might have succeeded had not Stone asserted the right of the Crown to dispose as it liked of a certain surplus that had arisen unexpectedly in the Hereditary Revenue. By taking the opposite side of the question and asserting the right of Parliament to apply the surplus to the reduction of the National Debt, Boyle succeeded in getting the support of public opinion. The battle, after lasting several years, ended in the complete triumph of Boyle and the dismissal of

Stone. But no sooner had Stone been removed than Boyle and his friends came to terms with Government. On learning of the shameless traffick in offices and pensions that had led to this agreement, public opinion veered round, and under the effect of a stormy press campaign, a small patriotic party arose in the House of Commons.

Parliamentary Opposition. The object of the Patriots, under the leadership at first of Charles Lucas and afterwards of Henry Flood, was to obtain a shortening of the duration of parliament. It was hoped that thereby parliament would be drawn more under the control of public opinion. The proposal was distasteful to both Government and the Undertakers. But when, on the meeting of the first Parliament of George III's reign in October 1761, Lucas introduced a Septennial Bill, the Undertakers, with the object of throwing the responsibility of its rejection on Government, agreed to the Bill, Government, while rejecting it as required, determined to punish the Undertakers for their perfidy by crushing them. This it was proposed to do by making it incumbent on the Lord Lieutenant to reside permanently in Dublin. There was some difficulty in finding an English nobleman willing to accept the viceroyalty on this condition, but in the end Lord Townshend consented. Townshend was a good-natured man of convivial habits, and it was hoped that he would prove agreeable to the Irish. To make his task of crushing the Undertakers easier, he was allowed, on opening Parliament in October 1767, to hint at certain concessions desired by the Patriots. These concessions were to be the condition of Parliament agreeing to an increase of the army. Among the measures promised by Townshend, in addition to the Bill for shortening parliaments, was one to secure the independence of the Irish judicial bench. Unfortunately, his colleagues in England refused to consent to this measure, with the result that though, on the return of a Bill limiting parliaments to eight years, the Irish Parliament consented to an augmentation of the army, Townshend's credit was

utterly ruined. His loss of popularity rendered him morose, and becoming the butt of the public press, he resorted to a system of bribery and corruption in order to maintain a fictitious reputation of success. When Parliament met in February 1771 he had the satisfaction of being presented with an address thanking the King for maintaining him in office. The address cost the country £500,000 in places and pensions, and rather than present it Speaker Ponsonby resigned his Chair. In the end, however, public opinion proved too strong for Townshend, and in September 1772 he returned to England, amid the silent contempt of Irishmen.

Effect of the Revolt of the American Colonies. Like Townshend, his successor, Earl Harcourt, was at first extremely popular, and like him he ultimately became an object of public execration. For this result both were themselves less to blame than the English Government. Left to themselves, both Townshend and Harcourt would probably have proved excellent governors. But, while saddled with the responsibilities of office, neither of them was allowed a free hand. Ireland, when Harcourt entered on the duties of his post, was rapidly drifting to national bankruptcy. Trade, always bad owing to the restrictions placed on it by England, was shortly to become completely stagnant in consequence of the outbreak of the war between England and her American colonies. Taxation had reached its limit, and, in order to meet the current expenses of government, Harcourt had hit on the happy expedient of taxing the estates of habitual absentees. The scheme was applauded by the Patriots, and, being approved by the English Government, a Bill to carry it into effect was placed in Flood's hands. Unfortunately, no sooner did the scheme become known in England than it encountered the furious opposition of Irish absentee landowners, with the result that in the end the measure had to be abandoned. Parliament, however, showed Harcourt no ill-will. It was felt that he was not personally to blame, but in presenting the Money Bill at the close of the session, Speaker Pery intimated that, in consequence of the restrictions

on its trade, Ireland was at the end of its resources. Two years later (1775) Harcourt was compelled to appeal to Parliament for assistance to suppress the rebellion that had broken out in America. Far from showing any alacrity in responding to his appeal, the Commons allowed it to be clearly seen that their sympathies were on the side of the rebels. They did indeed reluctantly consent to the withdrawal of 4,000 out of the 12,000 troops assigned for the defence of Ireland, but when it came to a question of their payment they deliberately refused to find the money. Driven to adopt other measures, Harcourt dissolved Parliament, and employed the interval in securing a more docile legislature. Peerages and pensions were scattered broadcast, and, at a time when Dublin itself swarmed with beggars and bankruptcies were of daily occurrence, £11,250 were added to the liabilities of the country. Harcourt did not profit by his measures to tune Parliament, but when it reassembled in October 1777, his successor, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, had the satisfaction of seeing a motion by Grattan, urging the necessity of retrenchment and economy, rejected by an overwhelming majority.

Commercial Restrictions removed. All the same, Buckinghamshire was not blind to the critical nature of the situation, and at his earnest representation Lord North consented to a proposal to remove some of the most pressing restrictions on Irish trade. But the proposal, encountering fierce opposition on the part of English manufacturers, had to be abandoned. The disappointment of the Irish was intense, and finding no other method of relief, they adopted a leaf out of the Americans' book and entered into voluntary agreements not to wear or import any articles of British manufacture. The movement proved so successful that British manufacturers, seeing their trade with Ireland brought to a standstill, gradually assumed a more conciliatory attitude. Meanwhile France had openly allied herself with America. Her fleet commanded the sea, and in the defenceless condition of the country the danger of invasion was evident to the blindest. The in-

capacity of Government to provide a small garrison for Belfast obliged the citizens of that town to raise a body of volunteers for their own defence. The example of Belfast proved contagious, and in an incredibly short space of time Ireland saw herself provided with a military force composed entirely of Protestants and absolutely independent of Government. The rise of the Volunteers was hailed by Buckinghamshire with a sigh of relief, but as the movement spread the danger of the situation began to dawn on him. Most of the Volunteers were enthusiastic non-importers; many of them were known to sympathize with the Americans. What if they began to use their strength in the same way? When Parliament met in October 1779, Grattan, now the acknowledged leader of the Opposition, moved to address the Crown that nothing but a free export trade could save Ireland. Hussey Burgh suggested a free export and import; Flood a free trade simply, and in this form the motion was carried without a division. The King's answer, promising to take such measures as should appear most conducive to the welfare of all his subjects, not being regarded as satisfactory, Grattan, a few weeks later, moved to limit supplies to six months. The motion was carried, and Ministers in England, drawing the inevitable conclusion, at once introduced Bills into the English Parliament for the removal of the chief restrictions on Irish trade. This time the manufacturers raised no protest, and the Bills having passed rapidly through both Houses, at once received the King's assent. With the exception of some restrictions attached to the Channel trade and to trade with the East Indies, Ireland was placed on the same footing as England.

Legislative Independence conceded. England had yielded commercial equality; but she had only yielded after great pressure had been brought to bear on her and to Irishmen it seemed a natural inference that, if she was to be prevented, when the hour of danger had passed, from reverting to her old colonial policy, she must be forced to abandon the right claimed by her to legislate

for Ireland. Poynings' Law and the Act of 6 Geo. I must be repealed and the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament admitted. Early in 1780 Grattan announced his intention of taking the earliest opportunity to move a Declaration of Irish Rights. His attitude was regarded as indiscreet by his friends. It was urged that he was endangering the recent commercial victory. But Grattan was not to be moved. Rather than give way, he declared, he would call out the Volunteers. Accordingly, shortly after Parliament met, he submitted a motion affirming the legislative independence of Ireland. His speech made a great impression, and Government, not venturing to meet it with a direct negative, moved the adjournment. Grattan professed himself satisfied with the result. 'No British minister will now, I hope,' he said, 'be mad enough to attempt, nor servant of Government desperate enough to execute, nor Irish subject mean enough not to resist by every means in his power a British Act of Parliament.' Grattan's view of the situation was speedily tested. Ireland had no Mutiny Act of her own. The need of such an Act had recently arisen, and a Mutiny Bill was transmitted to England for confirmation. The Bill was returned with the omission of the usual clause limiting its operation to one year, and Government influence was strong enough to secure its acceptance by Parliament. The conduct of Government was, however, fiercely denounced by Grattan, and at a meeting of the delegates of the Ulster Volunteers at Dungannon in February 1782, resolutions were passed roundly condemning the perpetual Mutiny Bill, asserting the sole right of the Irish Parliament to make laws binding on Ireland, and approving of a relaxation of the Penal Laws. Encouraged by the attitude of the Volunteers, Grattan a few days later moved an Address to the Crown declaratory of the independence of the Irish Parliament. His motion was rejected by 137 to 68; but, knowing that public opinion was on his side, he at once announced his intention of moving a Declaration of Irish Rights on 16 April. The situation created by Grattan

was critical in the extreme, and feeling that the loyalty of the subservient element in the House of Commons had been strained to breaking-point, the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle, urged his colleagues in London to yield. Before Carlisle's letter reached its destination the ministry of Lord North had been succeeded by that of the Marquis of Rockingham, with Shelburne and Fox as joint Secretaries of State. The new Lord Lieutenant was the Duke of Portland. Portland reached Dublin only two days before that on which Grattan was to move his Declaration. He was anxious to procure a brief postponement of the subject. But Grattan, knowing that Ministers had resolved to yield, refused his request, and on the day appointed he rose to make his promised statement. Victory he knew was his. 'I am now', he said, amidst the breathless attention of the House, 'to address a free people: ages have passed away, and this is the first moment you could be distinguished by that appellation.' The spirit of Swift and Molyneux had prevailed. The nation that had so long sat in bondage had shaken off her fetters. To the nation in arms, to the Volunteers, they that day owed the independence of Parliament. And now, having given a Parliament to the people, he hoped and doubted not that the Volunteers would retire and leave the people to Parliament. Six weeks later (27 May) the Lord Lieutenant announced that the King had graciously assented to the repeal of the obnoxious Act of 6 George I, and that Ireland was free to legislate for herself.

Renunciation and Reform. It was a great victory, and Grattan's one wish was that, having achieved her independence, Ireland should sit down quietly and attend to her own affairs. As a sign of her attachment to England he himself moved a grant of £100,000 and 20,000 men for the support of the British navy. But Grattan's attitude was not universally approved. By some it was felt that his impulsive generosity was leading him into a false position. England had repealed the obnoxious Act of 6 George I; but what was there to prevent her making a fresh Act of the same

sort when she felt strong enough to do so? No nation, Flood reminded his hearers, had ever been known to willingly relinquish the principle of power. Nothing could satisfy Ireland but the absolute renunciation on the part of England of the right to make laws binding on Ireland. Perhaps, as Grattan insisted, Flood was splitting hairs, and that if England liked to play false no Act of Renunciation on her part would restrain her; but Flood had got the ear of the public, and the agitation for express renunciation continuing, Lord Shelburne, who had succeeded to the office of Prime Minister on Rockingham's death, consented to introduce a Bill into the English Parliament to settle all doubts on that point. By the Act of 23 George III, c. 28, England absolutely renounced all right to make laws binding on Ireland. Except for the ill-feeling the agitation had engendered between Flood and Grattan the matter was at an end. Ireland had achieved her legislative independence. But to a close observer of the situation she was practically no freer than she had been. England, it is true, could not interfere directly with her own Acts of Parliament, but by the influence she could exert through the Irish Government, composed as that Government largely was of English officials, on the Irish Parliament, by corrupting individual borough proprietors, she could still control Irish legislation. Everybody saw the weak point, the only difference of opinion with those who wished to reform Parliament being how the reform was to be effected. Grattan, with his exaggerated belief in the patriotic spirit of Irishmen, thought that Parliament might be left to reform itself; Flood, with a juster appreciation of the weakness of human nature, thought that force or the threat of force would have to be applied in order to make the borough proprietors surrender their privileges. Pressure from the side of the Volunteers was Flood's remedy for the situation. In November 1783 a National Convention of the Volunteers met at Dublin. The Convention had been called by the friends of Parliamentary Reform. Parliament was sitting at the time and, the Convention

having determined on a scheme of reform, Flood was authorized to submit it to Parliament. He did so in his double capacity of M.P. and an officer in the Volunteers. Exception was immediately taken by the opponents of reform to what they insisted was an attempt to coerce Parliament by a display of military force. All eyes were directed towards Grattan. It was felt that, humanly speaking, on him depended the fate of Ireland. To his immediate shame and everlasting sorrow Grattan allowed his pique against Flood to influence his conduct. It is true he voted for and spoke in favour of reform, but he did so in such a fashion as to justify the Lord Lieutenant's verdict that he meant Government no harm. By his conduct the chance to reform Parliament was lost, and lost for ever. By carefully fomenting the differences that had manifested themselves amongst the Reformers, as to the admission of the Catholics to the franchise, Government succeeded not merely in weakening the movement for Parliamentary Reform, but in paving the way for a revival of those religious jealousies in which the Penal Laws had their origin.

Divergent Views—the Commercial Propositions.—The acquisition of Free Trade had not been followed by that degree of commercial prosperity which had been generally expected from it. By some the continued depression of trade, especially in Dublin, was attributed to political unrest, by others to the superior advantages enjoyed by English manufacturers in the way of capital and better machinery. Taking the latter view of the situation, Luke Gardiner, one of the members of Parliament for Dublin, suggested, when Parliament met in 1784, that the only remedy for unemployment was the imposition of a light duty on imported goods. The proposal was not favourably received by either the Government or Grattan and his friends. It was urged that the real cause of the distress was agitation and the shortage of food-stuffs. To remedy matters in this latter particular a Bill was introduced by the Attorney-General, John Foster, to encourage agriculture by a system of bounties on corn. The Bill rapidly became law,

and is said to have changed Ireland from a corn-importing once more into a corn-exporting country. But this effect was only apparent after the outbreak of the great war with France, and, distress continuing, the agitation for Protection did so likewise. The situation attracted the attention of Pitt, who had succeeded to the premiership on the collapse of the coalition ministry of Fox and North in December 1783. Pitt disliked the settlement arrived at in 1782 and confirmed by the Act of Renunciation in 1783. In the demand for Protection he thought he saw a chance, as he explained to the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Rutland, 'to make England and Ireland one country in effect, though for local concerns under distinct legislatures'. His plan was to remove all remaining restrictions on Irish commerce, provided Ireland contributed some part of her revenue to Imperial purposes. The proposal was from the first objectionable to Grattan as likely, in the form it took, to lead to ministerial extravagance; but, having been mooted, he expressed his willingness to consent to it. Unfortunately, after the measure had been accepted by the Irish Parliament and fresh taxes had been voted in accordance with it, the Bill encountered so much opposition in the British Parliament, on the incredible pretence that it tended to make Ireland the 'emporium of British trade', that it had to be withdrawn for amendment. In its amended form the measure, by insisting on the adoption by Ireland of all the Navigation Laws then in force in England or that might afterwards be made by the British Parliament, proved so distasteful to the Irish that it had to be abandoned.

The Question of the Regency. Pitt's failure to arrange a commercial union did not improve the relations between him and Ireland. His attack on Irish liberty, as it had come to be regarded, was still fresh in public memory when another event occurred which in its issue served to aggravate the situation still more. During the summer of 1788 it became known that the state of the King's health was such as to prevent him taking any part in the

government of the country. By the beginning of November the necessity of having to appoint a regent had to be faced. The natural regent was the Prince of Wales. But quite apart from the fact that the Prince was the boon companion of his rival Fox, Pitt was desirous, in view of the King's possible recovery, to limit his power to what was absolutely necessary for the transaction of business. This did not suit the wishes of either the Prince or Fox, and in consequence the debates over the Regency Bill assumed such a protracted character that, before it was passed, the necessity for it had disappeared. In Ireland, owing probably to a notion that Fox, having been more or less instrumental in securing Irish independence, was likely to exert his influence to infuse a more liberal spirit into administration, public opinion, as voiced by Grattan, was in favour of Fox's plan of inviting the Prince to accept the regency with undiminished powers. Despite the strong opposition of the Attorney-General, John Fitzgibbon, now the chief pillar of Government, an Address inviting the Prince to accept the regency was voted by the Irish Parliament. But owing to the utterly unconstitutional refusal of the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham, to transmit the Address so much time was lost that, before it reached London, the King had recovered his health and the crisis was at an end. The King's recovery dashed the hopes of Grattan and his friends of a more liberal administration. Fitzgibbon, the head of the most retrograde section of the Protestant Ascendancy party, and the sworn foe of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, was now master of the situation. Pensioners and placemen, scenting danger, drifted back to their allegiance, and once more corruption became the order of the day.

Effects of the French Revolution. Having re-established Government on its old basis, Buckingham left Ireland. Fourteen days after his departure the Bastille was stormed. The French Revolution had at first no effect on the position of affairs in Ireland; but, as the year 1790 drew to a close, reports reached Government

that the Volunteers of Belfast were showing more than an ordinary interest in French affairs, and that meetings were being held there calling on Irishmen to imitate the glorious spirit of the French. The anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was the signal for a fresh demonstration in 1791, and resolutions were passed advocating the abolition of all religious disqualifications. The tendency of these resolutions to bring about a union between the Protestants and Catholics aroused the fears of Government. 'The language and bent of the conduct of these Dissenters', the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Westmorland, confided to his colleagues in London, 'is to unite with the Catholics, and their union would be very formidable. That union is not yet made and I believe and hope it never could be.' Westmorland's hopes, however, were doomed to disappointment. In August the movement received a considerable impetus from a pamphlet by Wolfe Tone, a young and comparatively unknown man at this time, advocating a close alliance between the Protestants and Catholics as the only effectual method of removing the grievances from which Ireland was suffering. The pamphlet, of which 10,000 copies were sold, exercised a widespread influence, and in October the first Society of United Irishmen was founded at Belfast. The Society was described as 'a union of Irishmen of every religious persuasion in order to obtain a complete reform of the Legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty'. The foundation of the United Irish Society and the liberal spirit of Wolfe Tone's pamphlet induced the Catholics to stir in their own behalf, and early in 1792 a committee was appointed to present a petition to the King, praying for a relaxation of the Penal Laws. The time for making such an appeal appeared propitious. The French Revolution, if it had on the one hand served to strengthen the aspirations for political freedom, had on the other been productive of a reactionary feeling hostile to the concession of measures that might tend to weaken the authority of the State. Now, amongst those factors

in the situation that had shown themselves most hostile to the Revolution was the Roman Catholic Church. To Burke and others who thought with him the time seemed to have arrived when the influence of the Church might be advantageously enlisted in combating the revolutionary views of Paine and other writers. By a timely concession of the Catholic claims the threatened union between the Dissenters and Catholics might thus be avoided.

Question of Catholic Emancipation. The proposal to grant a relaxation of the Penal Laws commended itself to Ministers in England, and in December Dundas announced to Westmorland that it was intended to extend to the Catholics such a modified participation in the benefits of the Constitution as would give them a stake in the political prosperity of the country and at the same time be consistent with the general interests of the Empire. The intention of Ministers to concede the franchise to the Catholics greatly exasperated the Irish Government. In Fitzgibbon's opinion whatever immediate advantage might be obtained by admitting the Catholics to the franchise it would be outbalanced by the fact that, as the Catholics were preponderatingly in the majority, they would ultimately obtain the control of Parliament. The result could only be the reversal of the Revolution Settlement, the downfall of Protestant Ascendancy, and a repetition of 1641. Whatever opinion, Westmorland wrote, there might be as to the wisdom or desirability of yielding on such points as professions, intermarriages, and education, there could be none as to admitting the Catholics to the suffrage. Protestant opinion in Ireland, he declared, was dead against such a step. Whether he was right or wrong, Pitt and Dundas were annoyed at his opposition. 'Ministers', the latter wrote to him in January 1792, 'have some reason to complain of the spirit and temper which have manifested themselves in the deliberations of your friends in Ireland on this business. . . . During the whole course of the summer and autumn they have,

in various ways, conveyed to us an apprehension of a union between Catholics and Dissenters, which they considered and justly considered as fatal to the present frame of Irish government. Under these circumstances our opinion was expected. We accordingly gave that opinion, but . . . whether our opinions are right or wrong time only can decide.'

Catholics readmitted to the Suffrage. Finding it necessary to yield, Government, in the hope of slowing down the agitation, gave its support to a small measure of relief introduced by Sir Hercules Langrishe in January 1792. The measure permitting intermarriage with Protestants on condition that the ceremony was performed by a Protestant clergyman, admitting Catholics to the Bar, allowing them to teach in schools and to take two or more apprentices fell far short of the expectations of the Catholics. During the summer the agitation for complete emancipation assumed a more determined form, and the Catholics, finding themselves warmly supported by the Belfast Protestants, resolved, at a Convention held at Dublin in December, to appoint a deputation to submit their Petition personally to the King. To Westmorland's annoyance no objection was raised in England to this procedure, and the deputation, on being introduced to the King by Dundas, was favourably received by his Majesty. The result was apparent when Parliament reassembled in January 1793. For the first time in their history the state of the Roman Catholics was commended to the attention of Parliament: for the first time they were addressed not as Papists but as His Majesty's Catholic subjects. It was a bitter pill for Westmorland and Fitzgibbon to swallow. All the world knew that it was a victory won in the very teeth of Administration. A few days later Secretary Hobart announced Government's intention to give effect to His Majesty's instructions, by introducing a measure of Catholic relief. On being submitted to Parliament, the Bill was found to confer the elective franchise on the Catholics, to extend to them the right of sitting on grand and petty juries in all cases, of carrying arms,

on condition that they possessed a certain property qualification, and to provide for the endowment of a Catholic college. It was a large measure of relief, and though it fell short of complete emancipation it was felt to be a great boon by the Catholics. Grattan strongly urged the entire abrogation of the Penal Code. To concede the elective franchise without the right to sit in Parliament was, he argued, a grave political blunder. But Government was not to be moved. It was felt that enough had been yielded, and accordingly, having rapidly passed through Parliament, the Bill received the royal assent in April. The measure had encountered less opposition than had been expected, but neither the Lord Chancellor, Fitzgibbon, nor the Speaker, John Foster, could conceal his dislike of it and both openly expressed their strong disapproval of the way in which the hand of Government had been forced by Ministers in England. Their opinion was shared by many Protestants, and the Bill had hardly become law than symptoms of a revival of the old spirit of religious intolerance began to manifest themselves in Ulster.

The Fitzwilliam Episode. Meanwhile war had broken out between Great Britain and France. The outbreak of the war was followed by a split in the Whig party, and in 1794 a number of the chiefs of that party threw in their lot with Pitt. In the redistribution of offices that followed the post of Secretary of State for Home Affairs fell to the Duke of Portland. Portland had been Lord Lieutenant when the Irish Parliament recovered its independence in 1782. He was believed to favour a more liberal policy towards Ireland than that pursued by Westmorland, and his candidate for the post of Lord Lieutenant was Earl Fitzwilliam. When Pitt was consulted in the matter, he expressed his readiness to consent to a change. He himself was anxious to pursue a conciliatory policy towards Ireland; but regarding himself under great obligations to Fitzgibbon in the matter of the Regency, he insisted (1) that before Westmorland was recalled he should be adequately provided for as if he were retiring voluntarily; (2) that Fitzgibbon and his

friends should not be displaced; (3) that there was to be no question of a new system of government. Apparently these conditions were communicated to Fitzwilliam and accepted by him; but whether he realized their significance is another matter. In Ireland at any rate his appointment was hailed as indicating a change of system involving the concession of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. Some time elapsed before a suitable office could be found for Westmorland, and it was not till 4 January 1795 that Fitzwilliam arrived in Dublin. On landing he consented to receive an Address of welcome from the Catholics: two days later, in order, as he said, 'not to cloud the dawn of his administration', he dismissed two highly placed officials—John Beresford, known from his parliamentary influence as the 'King of Ireland', and a Mr. Cooke, and at the same time intimated his intention of effecting a change in the attorney- and solicitor-generalship. When Parliament met Grattan announced the intention of Government, with which he had identified himself, to effect those reforms which, as the leader of Opposition, he had long in vain demanded. On 12 February he obtained leave to bring in a Catholic Emancipation Bill. Two days later Fitzwilliam received a letter from Pitt, expostulating with him on his dismissal of Beresford and Cooke, together with one from Portland urging him to keep back the Catholic Bill. This was more than Fitzwilliam could stand. He replied to Pitt by demanding the ratification of Beresford's dismissal or his own recall. Pitt accepted the alternative, and on 25 February Fitzwilliam announced his intention to retire. A month later he left Ireland amid the general lamentations of the nation.

Rebellion brewing. With the departure of Fitzwilliam Ireland marched rapidly in the direction of rebellion. Fitzwilliam's successor was Earl Camden, but the real director of Irish affairs from this time forward was Lord Fitzgibbon, shortly to become Earl of Clare. For a time Grattan deluded himself with the notion that though Catholic Emancipation had proved 'death

to one viceroy' it would be 'the peace-offering of another'. But Clare saw matters in another light. In his opinion Catholic Emancipation meant an end of Protestant Ascendancy, and to him Protestant Ascendancy was the keystone of the Constitution. He had been obliged to accept the Relief Bill of 1793, but he never ceased to reproach Pitt for what he called his folly in yielding to the demands of a popish democracy. He was determined that henceforth there should be no more concessions of a similar sort. The situation was favourable to his designs. The agitation of the Catholic Claims had, as we have remarked, been attended with a revival of sectarian intolerance, especially among the Protestants of Ulster. Already, early in 1793, the peace of the province was seriously endangered by groups of individuals, calling themselves Peep o' Day Boys, forcibly disarming their Catholic neighbours. Naturally the Catholics retaliated and, under the name of Defenders, entered into associations for attacking the Protestants. The efforts of Government to put an end to these disturbances by means of a Convention Act, directed to the suppression of all unauthorized assemblies, failed, and after Fitzwilliam's departure the situation grew decidedly worse both in Ulster and Connaught. In the latter province order was shortly restored by the forcible deportation of 1,300 individuals suspected of Defenderism. But in Ulster the conflicts between Peep o' Day Boys, or, as they had taken to calling themselves, Orangemen, and Defenders grew in number and violence. Especially was this the case in County Armagh, where the Protestants, being in the majority, started a regular campaign of ejection against the Catholics. Short and pithy notices were posted up on the cabins of the latter ordering them 'to Hell or Connaught'. In this way more than 700 families were in a few weeks compelled to leave the county. When Parliament met in January 1796 its principal business was to pass an Act for the suppression of disorder in the country. The Insurrection Act, or, as Curran styled it, the 'Bloody Code', encountered con-

siderable opposition, but eventually passed without a division. Though of unprecedented severity the measure failed to stem the rising tide of rebellion, and in the autumn Government proceeded to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act and to order the formation of yeomanry corps recruited chiefly from amongst the lower class of Protestants.

French Invasions. Meanwhile Wolfe Tone, who had left Ireland for America shortly after Camden's arrival, was on his way to France to assist with his advice in arranging a plan for a French invasion of Ireland. On 18 December 1796 an expedition, consisting of seventeen ships of the line and a number of transports with 16,000 troops on board and large stores of arms and ammunition, sailed from Brest under the command of General Hoche. As the expedition was approaching its destination it encountered a terrific storm, which scattered it in all directions. Several vessels with a considerable number of troops and Wolfe Tone himself managed to make Bantry Bay. But Hoche was missing, and though his second in command, General Grouchy, was willing to risk a landing, Admiral Bouvet, seeing a fresh storm brewing, insisted on returning to France. 'Deus flavit et dissipati sunt.' This time at any rate there could be no mistake that England owed her safety to a timely storm. The Irish Government, though well aware of the preparations that were in progress, had taken no steps to resist the invaders, and there can be little doubt that, had the French succeeded in effecting a landing in force, England for a time at any rate would have lost her hold on Ireland, with what consequences it is impossible to calculate. Curiously enough, the peasantry in Munster had manifested no desire to welcome their would-be deliverers, but this fact, instead of mollifying Government, seemed only to furnish it with an excuse for further measures of coercion. Its efforts, however, to restore order proved unavailing, and the United Irishmen, encouraged by constant accessions to their ranks, exerted themselves vigorously to extend the network

of their conspiracy over the whole island. Thanks to their endeavours and the energetic action of Wolfe Tone, preparations for a fresh invasion, to be supported by a rising in Ireland itself, were soon in progress. The time was most opportune. Never indeed could a more favourable chance of effecting a successful landing have been imagined than was just at this moment afforded by the Mutiny at the Nore. But, owing to the obstinacy of the Dutch admiral in command of the expedition, the opportunity was allowed to slip away, and when at last the fleet of the Batavian Republic left the Texel it was only to be swept out of existence by Admiral Duncan off Camperdown on 11 October 1797.

The Conspiracy Crushed. Meanwhile the Irish Government had been trying by every means in its power to reassert its authority, and not altogether without success. An abortive insurrection in County Down had been promptly suppressed, and many of the United Irishmen, despairing of French assistance, laid down their arms and took the oath of allegiance. But with the news of Admiral Duncan's victory every effort at conciliation was abandoned and the country handed over to the mercy of a brutal and licentious soldiery. Never in all his life, Lord Moira declared from his seat in the British House of Lords, had he witnessed scenes of more disgusting tyranny openly practised than at this time in Ireland. He had seen English troops poured into the country every man of which seemed to be inspired with the bitterest hatred against the Irish. He had known men picketed till they fainted. He had known them hanged till they were half dead, and that for no offence whatever and in a country as void of crime as London was. Moira's remonstrances and the appointment of Sir Ralph Abercromby as commander-in-chief of the army promised at first some alleviation of the sufferings of the wretched peasantry. But Abercromby's criticisms of the morale of the army and his scarcely veiled contempt of the conduct of Government were little to Clare's taste, and after being sub-

jected to the most incredible insults Abercromby had to retire. Once more the military was given a free hand with the object apparently of goading the people into rebellion. The conduct of Government strengthened the hands of the United Irishmen. Already early in 1797 a military committee had been appointed by them to arrange the details of a rising, and by the beginning of 1798 it was judged that the country was sufficiently organized to warrant the attempt being made. May 23 was fixed as the day for a general rising. Matters were in this position when, owing to the treachery of one of their most trusted members, Government was made acquainted with the plans of the conspirators. So accurate was the information conveyed that on 12 March nearly every member of the Leinster Provincial Committee was arrested. The papers of the Committee revealed the whole extent of the conspiracy, and, after a close examination of the prisoners, a Proclamation was published, authorizing the officers of His Majesty's forces to take summary measures on their own authority for the disarming of all disaffected persons. It is easier to imagine than to describe the reign of terror thus inaugurated. But the conspiracy, though scotched, had not been killed. After the arrests on 12 March a new Directory was speedily formed and fresh plans laid for a rising on the appointed date. Again the plot was revealed to Government, and on the very eve of the insurrection every influential member of the conspiracy was arrested.

The Rising-out of '98. The conspiracy was crushed and the rebellion frustrated. On the day appointed for the insurrection crowds of half-armed peasants assembled at the points assigned them. Dublin itself was in a rather disturbed state. Here and there, as at Naas and Prosperous, the rebels for a time obtained the upper hand, but their leaders were missing, and after one or two bloody encounters with the armed forces of the Crown most of them threw away their weapons and returned to their usual avocations. That the insurrection did not entirely collapse at this point was due mainly to ignorance of the actual state of affairs and the

provocative conduct of the military. To this latter cause alone was due the rising in County Wexford. On 26 May a party of soldiers belonging to the New Cork militia entered the village of Boulavogue and set fire to the Catholic chapel there. In his exasperation the parish priest, Father John Murphy, called his parishioners together, routed the soldiers, and killed the officer in command. Fearing the consequences of his action, Murphy then withdrew to the Hill of Oulart, where he was speedily joined by all the disaffected people in the neighbourhood. Next day he defeated and almost exterminated a detachment of the New Cork militia, and shortly afterwards, having captured Camolin and Enniscorthy, he established his head-quarters on Vinegar Hill. From Vinegar Hill he next marched on Wexford, of which he speedily obtained possession. At Wexford he was joined by a fresh body of rebels under a Protestant gentleman of the name of Bagenal Harvey. Between them it was arranged that, while Harvey tried to get possession of New Ross, Murphy should move northwards in the direction of Arklow and Dublin. The attack on New Ross was repulsed, and in consequence of the brutal massacre of nearly 200 Protestant prisoners at Scullabogue Barn Harvey threw down his command. Murphy was at first more successful. At Tuberneering on 4 June he encountered Colonel Walpole, and having defeated that officer he occupied Gorey. From Gorey he marched on Arklow, but after a desperate attempt to capture that place he was repulsed and forced to retreat to Vinegar Hill. There he was surrounded by the British army under General Lake and after a brave resistance forced to capitulate. The battle of Vinegar Hill on 21 June and the recovery of Wexford the same day practically put an end to the Rebellion. Of the punishment meted out to the rebels it is unnecessary to speak at large. But it should be noted that while the leaders of the United Irishmen, being mostly Protestants, were, in accordance with Clare's policy, allowed, with a few notable exceptions, to transport themselves abroad, the Catholic

peasantry and the priests were punished with the utmost rigour of the law. For the rest it may suffice to say that long after peace had been restored women and children fled in terror at the sight of a British uniform.

Last Efforts of France. The day before the battle of Vinegar Hill Lord Cornwallis arrived at Dublin in the double capacity of viceroy and commander-in-chief of the army. His arrival was hailed with a sigh of relief by Irishmen. But Cornwallis had hardly entered on his task of repairing the damage for which Camden and Clare between them had been responsible, than he was forced to suspend his work by the news that a French invading force had effected a landing in County Mayo. The fact was that no sooner had Tone got wind of what was happening in Wexford than he urged the French Directory to make a fresh effort to liberate Ireland. Unfortunately, Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition had so disarranged the French marine that it was impossible to comply adequately with his request. All that could be done was to issue instructions for the preparation of three small expeditions, timed to reach Ireland as simultaneously as possible. The first of these to sail, consisting of three frigates with over a thousand soldiers, was commanded by General Humbert. On 22 August Humbert reached the harbour of Killala at the mouth of the River Moy, and having landed his troops he at once directed his march southwards on Castlebar. Hearing of his approach, General Hely-Hutchinson, in command of about 2,000 men, advanced to meet him; but hardly had he come in contact with the enemy than his soldiers, being seized by one of those unaccountable panics that sometimes take possession of the best-drilled troops, threw down their arms and fled. The 'races of Castlebar', as Irish wit described this incident, was Humbert's only achievement. For, hearing a few days later that Cornwallis, with about 20,000 men, was advancing against him, he immediately marched northward in the direction of Sligo, with the evident intention of entrenching himself there pending the arrival of fresh assistance from France.

But at Coloony he found his way barred by Colonel Vereker, and turning eastwards in the direction of Granard he ran directly into Cornwallis's arms at Ballinamuck on the borders of County Longford. Seeing the uselessness of resistance Humbert at once surrendered, and he and his men, being sent to England, were afterwards exchanged and returned to France. So ended the first expedition. Of the second it is only necessary to say that the *Anacreon*, a swift-sailing corvette, with a considerable supply of arms and ammunition, under the command of Napper Tandy, arrived off the coast of Donegal on 16 September, but meeting with a hostile reception from the natives, owing to Tandy's inability to speak Irish, was obliged to sail away and eventually reached Bergen in safety. The third expedition, consisting of the *Hoche*, with Wolfe Tone on board, and eight small frigates carrying 3,000 men, sailed from Brest on 30 September, but just as it was entering Lough Swilly it was attacked by a strong British squadron under Sir John Borlase, and after a sharp fight forced to surrender. Among the prisoners taken was Wolfe Tone. Being brought before a court-martial Tone claimed to be treated as a French officer; but his claim was disallowed, and being condemned to be hanged he cut his throat with a penknife. He was buried in Bodenstown churchyard; but his gravestone, being chipped away in course of time by his admirers, had to be replaced by a new one protected by an iron railing.

Preparations for a Union. With Tone's death the way was free for a Union. Nominally the author of the Union was Pitt; but the person who was actually responsible for it, as it was carried, was the Earl of Clare. Unlike Fox, Pitt could never reconcile himself to the settlement arrived at in 1782–3. That settlement seemed to him to have endangered the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. But how to repair the mischief? This was a problem which ever since his accession to power had been constantly in his head, but to which he had never found a satisfactory solution, or at any rate one capable of realization. By

the Act of Renunciation England had bound herself to recognize the absolute legislative independence of the Irish Parliament. That Ireland would ever consent to surrender her independence seemed beyond the bounds of possibility. All the same, when France was using Ireland as a weapon to destroy England it was impossible for him to regard the situation with folded hands. Something simply had to be done. The Rebellion provided Pitt with the opportunity he had long been looking for. Surely Irishmen, sick of the scenes of horror they were compelled to witness and tired of the incapacity of their own Parliament to restore order, might, he thought, be induced to exchange their equivocal freedom for a closer dependence on Great Britain. On 4 June 1798 he wrote to Lord Auckland, 'Lord Grenville and I have had a good deal of discussion lately on the subject of following the termination of the present crisis in Ireland by immediate steps for a union'. From Clare, to whom Auckland confidentially imparted Pitt's design, the proposal met with an immediate and cordial response. 'As to the subject of a union with the British Parliament', Clare wrote to Auckland, 'I have long been of opinion that nothing short of it can save this country. I stated this opinion very strongly to Mr. Pitt in the year 1793 immediately after that fatal mistake into which he was betrayed by Mr. Burke and Mr. Dundas, in receiving an appeal from the Irish Parliament by a popish democracy.' But though agreed on the main point of the necessity for a Union Clare's motives differed radically from Pitt's. To Pitt the Union was to be a means of strengthening the Empire: to Clare it was to be a means of preserving Protestant Ascendancy. The divergence of views became immediately apparent when the question of conceding Catholic Emancipation as an inducement to the Catholics to support the Union project was raised. As is well known, Cornwallis was strongly in favour of conceding Catholic Emancipation. Indeed, without Emancipation the Union in his opinion was no union at all. Pitt himself was not ill disposed to the concession. But

when Clare heard of the proposal he posted to London in a burning rage to see Pitt himself about his 'popish projects'. What effect Clare's talk had on Pitt we do not know. All we know is that the Union was carried without Emancipation, but on the tacit understanding, concealed from Clare, that it was to be immediately followed by Emancipation. When Clare learnt how he had been deceived his indignation was extreme, and there is little doubt that, had he suspected Pitt's ulterior intention, he would have opposed the proposal, in which case the Union would never have been carried. As a matter of fact Clare might have died with an easy mind. His successor, Lord Redesdale, though an Englishman, was as bitter an enemy to the Roman Catholics as he was. More than a quarter of a century was to pass before Catholic Emancipation was conceded. Catholic Emancipation proved, as Clare predicted it would, the death-blow to Protestant Ascendancy. But the spirit of Protestant Ascendancy—the spirit that gave birth to the Penal Laws and was the primary cause of the Act of Union—is still not quite extinct.

The Act of Union. So much for the secret history of the Union. As for the means by which the Irish Parliament was induced to vote its own destruction, the subject may be dismissed in a few lines. When Parliament met in January 1799 the Speech from the Throne cautiously suggested the desirability of a parliamentary union with Great Britain. An Address of approval was met by an amendment expressing the determination of the Commons not to surrender their free, resident Legislature as established in 1782. The amendment was lost by only two votes and, in view of the strong opposition outside the House, it was immediately evident to Government that some form of pressure, other than argument, would have to be used if the measure was to be carried. The spring was spent by Cornwallis in purchasing a majority in both Houses. There is no need to mince words. Bribery and corruption were time-honoured or time-

dishonoured methods of tuning the Irish Parliament. Cornwallis was disgusted at the 'dirty work'. Irishmen took the matter more philosophically. One of them was heard to say that he thanked God he had a country to sell. It is unnecessary to describe the various methods of bribery employed or to hold up to opprobrium the names of those who were guilty of the worst crime a man can commit. When Parliament met for its last session in January 1800 Cornwallis had a safe majority in his pocket. The debate on the Address was in progress when Grattan, dressed in his Volunteer uniform, slowly entered the House, supported by George Ponsonby and Arthur Moore. He had risen from a bed of sickness to defend, with what appeared to be his last breath, the Constitution of which he was justly regarded as the author and guardian. But not all Grattan's eloquence could avert the inevitable. On 5 February Lord Castlereagh submitted a motion commending the Union to the serious attention of Parliament. The motion was accepted in the House of Commons by 160 to 117. It was the deciding vote on the question. On 14 February the House went into Committee on the terms of the Union, and after a debate of twenty hours the first resolution, 'that a Legislative Union of the two kingdoms was desirable', was carried by forty-six votes. A motion to address the Crown to dissolve Parliament was rejected; but Parsons accurately gauged the consequences of its rejection when he asserted that posterity would never believe that the measure had been sanctioned by public approbation. Having passed the Irish Parliament the resolutions were immediately submitted by Pitt to the British Parliament. There was little real opposition to them, and the resolutions, being drawn up in the form of a Bill, were once more submitted to the Irish Parliament for its acceptance. The Bill passed its second reading on 26 May, and having been approved by the British Parliament it received the royal assent on 1 August. By the terms of the Act, Ireland was to be represented in the United Parliament by four spiritual and twenty-

eight temporal peers in the House of Lords and one hundred Commoners. The two churches were united, and Ireland was placed on the same footing as Great Britain in respect of trade and navigation and in all treaties with foreign powers. The law courts of Ireland were left standing, and arrangements were made for the ultimate consolidation of the National Debts of the two countries. The half-promises made to the Roman Catholics to secure their support were not fulfilled, and in order to justify himself Pitt retired for a time from office. As O'Connell expressed it, the honourable gentleman after receiving the goods refused to pay for them.

PART VI

Struggle for National Independence, 1801–1921

Ireland after the Union. The quarter of a century that followed the Act of Union is perhaps the dreariest period in the whole of Irish history. Except for the passing spasm caused by Robert Emmet's abortive insurrection in the summer of 1803 Ireland appeared to have suddenly fallen into a state of decrepitude. All life seemed to have passed out of her. From an independent country, conscious of her own dignity and importance, she almost over-night sank to the level of a mere province. Dublin, the centre of social attraction for centuries and lately pulsating with political activity, seemed all at once to have lost its interest for Irishmen, and from being the second city in the Empire to have dwindled to the position of a simple country town. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind. People still think of O'Connell as the arch-demagogue battening on the scanty earnings of the Irish peasant. They forget that it was to O'Connell's persistent advocacy of the Catholic claims during this dreary period that the regeneration of Ireland was due. It was easy after the victory had been won and Irishmen had been awakened from the

torpor that had fallen on them to belittle his achievements and sneer at his political doctrines. But without O'Connell Ireland might have gone on slumbering for how long no man can say. It was he who poured new life-blood in her veins and, like another Moses, led her people out of the house of bondage to within sight of the promised land. And if to him, as to Moses, it was forbidden to enter that land himself, let not the future Joshua, before whose trumpet-blast the walls of Dublin Castle shall fall, forget that without O'Connell all his efforts to achieve national independence would have proved as unavailing as those of Wolfe Tone. Say what one will, it was O'Connell that created the Irish nation. All the same, it is unnecessary to tax the reader's patience by narrating at length the steps by which he eventually achieved Emancipation. As a matter of fact Emancipation might have been as readily conceded in 1793 as it was in 1829. In itself the right to sit in Parliament, after the elective franchise had been granted, was a small matter, and when conceded was productive of no great consequences. Not in Emancipation itself, but in the struggle to obtain it does its importance lie.

First Efforts at Emancipation. The struggle for Catholic Emancipation began in 1805 with a gentle reminder by a Catholic deputation to Pitt of the promises made by him at the time of the Union. But Pitt, on resuming office, had pledged himself to the King not to meddle further with the subject. Fox, on being approached on the question, promised his assistance, but owing to his death shortly afterwards the management of the Catholic petition fell to Grattan. Grattan's advocacy of the Catholic claims was sincere and persistent, but, finding Protestant prejudice against papal intervention insuperable, he clutched at a suggestion made to him in 1808 that the Catholics would be willing, as a condition of Emancipation, to accept a veto on the part of the Crown to any papal appointments in Ireland. The suggestion of a Veto caused a split among the Catholics, some approving of it, others, with O'Connell at their head, strongly objecting to it. The quarrel

lasted for years, with the result that Emancipation fell for a long time into abeyance. Meanwhile it was becoming clear to O'Connell that Emancipation, with or without the Veto, possessed little interest for the Irish peasant. What really interested the latter was the ever-present difficulty of how to pay his rent and tithes and withal to find a livelihood for his family. So long as the war with France lasted and high prices for agricultural produce prevailed, the Irish cottier had managed to shift along fairly well. But with the conclusion of peace and the sudden drop in prices the struggle to live assumed portentous dimensions for him. To make matters worse, the harvest in 1817 was almost a complete failure. Once more famine, that ever-constant scourge of a country dependent mainly for its subsistence on the uncertain potato, stalked through the land, and close in its wake came typhus that mowed down the starving peasantry by thousands. Unable to cope with the situation, Parliament interfered with an Act (56 Geo. III, c. 88) to render eviction easier! So the years drifted away in helpless misery, marked only by some more than usually violent outburst of crime on the part of a peasantry driven wild by suffering. For a moment the visit of George IV in 1821 cast a ray of hope through the gloom. Of the loyalty of Irishmen to the Crown there could be no question. Dublin went delirious with joy. Subscriptions were opened for the erection of a royal palace, but before a tithe of the money promised had been collected public enthusiasm had evaporated. It was found that the King's visit had altered nothing in the situation, or rather, by its failure to reconcile Protestants and Catholics, had merely accentuated the differences between them. Once more, too, the country had become a prey to famine and agrarian outrage. Was there no way out of the ever-recurring tragedy? Was there no means of getting at these half-starved peasants and preventing them taking the law in their own hands? The situation preyed on O'Connell's mind.

The Catholic Association. Speaking at an informal meeting

of Catholics early in 1823 O'Connell suggested the formation of a society which, while directing its efforts to the advancement of the Catholic claims, might, by its authority, exert a restraining influence on the Catholic peasantry. His proposal was applauded, and there and then a Catholic Association was founded. But the indifference of its members and lack of funds crippled its action, and it was only after O'Connell had hit on what was derisively called his penny-a-month plan of saving Ireland that the machine began to move. The institution of the 'Catholic Rent' soon put another aspect on the state of affairs. By extending its operations all over the country, publishing reports of its proceedings, establishing reading-rooms, and enlisting the active co-operation of the Catholic clergy the Association gradually became formidable enough to arouse the apprehensions of Government. Early in 1825 an attempt was made to suppress it by Act of Parliament, but by converting the Association into a nominally charitable society and dissociating it from the Catholic Rent the danger was averted. Better than this, the attack on it had the effect of once more bringing the Catholic question before Parliament. In March Sir Francis Burdett obtained leave to introduce a measure of Catholic relief. The Bill was accompanied by a proposal, called 'the Wings', to raise the electoral franchise from forty shillings to £10 and to provide for a State endowment of the Catholic clergy. O'Connell's acceptance of 'the Wings' caused great commotion in Ireland, and at one time threatened to imperil his popularity; but as the Bill itself was lost the incident merely served as a warning to him. The impolicy of his conduct was, however, shortly brought home to him in another way.

The Revolt of the Forty-shilling Freeholders. In view of an approaching general election in the summer of 1826, and in order to express their disapproval of the conduct of the Marquis of Waterford, a number of Catholic gentlemen in County Waterford determined to run an opposition candidate to the Marquis's

brother, Lord George Beresford, the sitting member. Their choice fell on a neighbouring Protestant landlord of the name of Villiers Stuart, and at Stuart's request O'Connell consented to act as his political agent. With the backing of the Association and the active support of the priests O'Connell succeeded in inducing nearly all the Beresford tenantry to vote for Villiers Stuart, with the result that he was returned by an overwhelming majority. The anger of the Beresfords at the revolt of their serfs was only exceeded by the astonishment of the serfs themselves at their own temerity. The full significance of Villiers Stuart's election was not immediately recognized, but a resolution was entered on the minute-book of the Association pledging the Association to support no member of a Government that was opposed to Catholic Emancipation. The Association was to be called upon to make good its resolution sooner than was expected. In the reconstruction of Administration that followed the withdrawal of the Canningites from the Ministry presided over by the Duke of Wellington in May 1828, the office of President of the Board of Trade was conferred on Vesey Fitzgerald, M.P. for County Clare. His appointment obliged him to seek re-election. Fitzgerald was an amiable gentleman and personally well disposed to the Catholics, but he was a member of a Ministry opposed to Catholic Emancipation and by its own resolution the Association was pledged to resist him. Considering Fitzgerald's popularity it was rather hopeless for any Protestant to contest his seat. But why a Protestant ? Why not a Catholic ? Why not O'Connell himself ? Urged against his will, O'Connell stepped into the breach. The polling at Ennis began on Monday, 30 June. In anticipation of a riot a considerable body of police had been drafted into the town. But not a single policeman was required. Never had there been such an orderly election. On Saturday Fitzgerald retired from the contest beaten by a majority of over a thousand votes.

Catholic Emancipation. O'Connell was M.P. for County Clare,

the first Catholic to be returned for an Irish constituency since the Revolution. The day predicted by Fitzgibbon had arrived, when the balance of power was to be transferred to the Catholics. Or would Parliament still refuse to concede Emancipation? This was the question that agitated men's minds. For himself O'Connell made no immediate effort to claim his seat. But the country was in a very excited condition. The Orangemen were up in arms, and a foolish attempt on the part of some of O'Connell's followers to invade the sacred precincts of Ulster nearly precipitated a conflict. The viceroy, the Earl of Anglesey, made no secret of his opinion that Emancipation had become a political necessity, but his sudden recall seemed to indicate that his opinion was not shared by either Wellington or Peel. The Orangemen were jubilant, but when Parliament met in February 1829 it was evident that Government had resolved to yield. On 5 March a Catholic Relief Bill was submitted by Peel to the House of Commons. The Bill commanded O'Connell's entire approval. It was, he declared, 'frank, direct, and complete'. Its only drawback was that it was accompanied by a measure raising the electoral franchise from forty shillings to £10. The disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders was, as Brougham admitted, a heavy price to pay for their victory, but it was inevitable and, in so far as it merely placed Ireland on the same level as England, it was not a glaring injustice. The Emancipation Bill having passed the Commons on 30 March and been read a third time in the House of Lords on 10 April received the royal assent three days later.

Tithes and Parliamentary Reform. The long-protracted struggle was at an end. With the acquisition of religious equality it was hoped that Irishmen would rest satisfied and that Englishmen would hear less in future of Ireland. Such was not O'Connell's intention. Emancipation, if it really meant equal justice for Irishmen, was, in his opinion, merely a stepping-stone to the repeal of the Union. The Union had been carried over the heads of the

Catholics: it had been carried against the wishes of the Protestants. Now, then, was the time when Protestants and Catholics could unite to procure its repeal. But O'Connell's appeal for united action passed unheeded. The long years of agitation had bred a spirit of bitter hatred to Catholicism in the breasts of the Protestants and rendered any co-operation on their part impossible. Indeed, far from regarding the Union any longer as a grievance, the Protestants had come to look upon it as their only safeguard against Catholic ascendancy. The Catholics, too, manifested no great interest in the matter. Emancipation had done little to improve their material condition. Repeal was as little likely to do so. What most interested the bulk of Irishmen at this time was the question of tithes. The payment of tithes for the support of an alien Church had long been a standing grievance with the Irish peasantry. Repeated efforts had been made by Grattan to obtain a commutation of them, but always without success. The concession of Catholic Emancipation rendered tithes doubly grievous, and in the winter of 1830–1 a disposition not to pay them manifested itself in various parts of the country. The movement spread, and the attempt to enforce payment of them was attended in the summer of 1831 with considerable loss of life, especially at Newtownbarry in County Wexford. The Chief Secretary of the day, Edward Stanley, proposed to meet the situation with a drastic measure of coercion, but his chief, Earl Grey, being anxious to secure O'Connell's support for his Reform Bill, refused his consent. As for O'Connell, all his hope at this time was placed in Parliamentary Reform. Given a Parliament really representative of public opinion he felt sure that something would be done to put the government of Ireland on a more satisfactory basis. O'Connell was not a faddist, but a practical politician. What he wanted was good government for Ireland. If the United Parliament would give him that, then he would be quite content. He had no particular desire for Repeal. To him Repeal was merely a means to an end—a step

to good government. But if the United Parliament would not grant good government then Repeal was the only alternative.

Ireland and the Whigs. With the meeting of the first Reformed Parliament on 5 February 1833 O'Connell's hopes of a new era in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland ran high. But grievously and almost immediately were these hopes disappointed. Under the combined effect of the tithe war, scanty harvests, and cholera the state of Ireland had of late gone rapidly from bad to worse. During the preceding twelve months not less than nine thousand agrarian outrages, of which two hundred were homicides, had occurred. In several counties the authority of the law had practically ceased to exist. Jurors would not convict, murders were rife, and intimidation was almost universal. The necessity of exceptional measures to restore law and order was admitted by O'Connell himself. But never had he anticipated such a measure of coercion, unaccompanied by any attempt to remedy the disease, as that which Grey himself, shortly after the opening of Parliament, submitted to the House of Lords. O'Connell's indignation at 'the baseness of the Whigs' was boundless. Night after night he exhausted himself in denouncing their brutality; but all in vain. Early in April the Coercion Bill became law, and Ireland was once more handed over to the tender mercies of an irresponsible Executive. In his dire distress O'Connell made a desperate effort to raise the standard of Repeal. But Government was on the alert, and when Parliament reassembled in January 1834 the Speech from the Throne alluded in strong terms of condemnation to the 'continuance of attempts to excite the people to demand a repeal of the legislative union'. Driven to try other methods, O'Connell, later in the session, moved to appoint a committee to inquire into the means by which the abolition of the Irish Parliament had been effected and the effects of that measure on Ireland. He spoke for five hours in support of his motion. But his speech was deadly dull, and being smartly answered by Spring Rice his motion was rejected by 523 to 38.

All the same, O'Connell's appeal for justice was not entirely in vain. Immediately the Repeal debate was over the Chief Secretary, Edward Littleton, introduced a Bill for the commutation of tithe into a land tax. The proposal was strongly disapproved of by some of his colleagues and ultimately led to the resignation of Earl Grey, the dissolution of Parliament, and the formation of the Melbourne Administration.

Good Government or Repeal. In the new Parliament that met in February 1835 the balance of power lay with O'Connell and his Repeal contingent. The result was what was known as the 'Lichfield House Compact'. By the terms of the 'Compact' O'Connell agreed to support the Whigs so long as they governed Ireland well. The Melbourne Administration lasted five years, and for nearly the whole of that period it commanded the support, if not always the praise, of O'Connell. It solved the tithe difficulty, it gave Ireland a Poor Law, and it reformed the municipal corporations. But it was in its administrative capacity that the Melbourne Administration was most successful. This it owed mainly to Thomas Drummond, whose pregnant phrase 'property has its duties as well as its rights' sufficiently characterizes his attitude towards the main problem of the day. But, if few chief secretaries have ever been so deservedly popular as Drummond was, it must not be forgotten that he owed his success in large measure to O'Connell's co-operation. For O'Connell his alliance with the Whigs was not unattended with some loss of prestige, and more than once he had to defend himself against the charge that he was sacrificing his independence to the exigencies of party politics. Perhaps he felt that there was some truth in the charge. Anyhow, as the Melbourne Ministry began to show signs of increasing weakness he changed his tactics, and in 1839 established what he called a Precursor Society, which 'may precede justice to Ireland from the United Parliament and the consequent dispensing with Repeal agitation . . . but will, shall, and must precede Repeal agitation if justice be refused'. But no

one believed that he was in earnest, and even after he abandoned his Precursor Society and started his Repeal Association he failed to meet with much support. The apathy of his countrymen annoyed O'Connell, but he was seriously alarmed when he lost his seat for Dublin at the General Election in 1841, and when of his once famous 'tail' hardly a dozen obtained re-election. Evidently things were going downhill. His election as Lord Mayor of the reformed corporation of Dublin afforded him a favourable opportunity to reconsider his position, and in January 1843 O'Connell announced his intention of moving at an early meeting of the Dublin City Council a resolution affirmatory of the right of Ireland to a resident Parliament. Perhaps it was the stirring appeal, addressed by the newly founded *Nation* newspaper to the youth of Ireland to be up and doing, that determined him. Anyhow the *Nation* was behind him when he rose to make his promised statement on 21 February. O'Connell's speech is, by general admission, one of the strongest arguments ever uttered in support of Repeal. It was ably answered by a young barrister of the name of Isaac Butt, the future author of Home Rule, but at that time a strong supporter of the Union. After the debate had lasted three days O'Connell's resolution was carried by 45 to 15.

Repeal Agitation. The effect of the Corporation debate was most extraordinary. The agitation, which since the foundation of the Repeal Association in 1840 had hung fire, suddenly broke forth in full activity. The 'Repeal Rent', which had barely amounted to £300 in February, leaped up in May to nearly £2,000 a week. By the end of the year it had reached a grand total of £48,000. Backed by the Young Ireland party, the agitation spread like fire before the wind. Of the founders of that party—Thomas Davis, John Dillon, and Charles Gavan Duffy—it is impossible to speak in any but the highest terms of admiration. At this time they were in full accord with O'Connell. Their object, through the *Nation*, was 'to create and foster public opinion in Ireland and make it racy of the soil'. The poet's pen and patriot's

sword were the means by which they hoped to effect Ireland's independence as a republic. Their ideal was Wolfe Tone; but for the nonce they were prepared to work with O'Connell. In order to fan the agitation into a general conflagration O'Connell, shortly after the Dublin Corporation debate, announced his intention of holding a series of mass meetings throughout the country. The first of these was held at Trim on 19 March, when it was calculated that 30,000 persons were present. The meeting at Trim was followed by another next month at Mullingar, when the attendance rose to 100,000. In May there was another 'monster', as *The Times* dubbed these meetings, at Cork. The meeting was the Association's answer to Peel's threat to uphold the Union even at the risk of civil war. The threat was not idly meant. A few weeks later an Arms Bill was submitted to Parliament, empowering Government to suppress seditious assemblies. The Arms Bill became law in August, but before that day arrived O'Connell had held his ever-memorable meeting at the Hill of Tara. In its imposing dimensions and the religious ceremonies accompanying it the meeting at Tara surpassed all its predecessors. Its success induced O'Connell to announce the holding of another 'monster' at Clontarf in October. In view of the Arms Act it was a hazardous step on his part, and public opinion was greatly perturbed as to what would happen if the meeting was proclaimed by Government. The meeting was fixed for Sunday, 8 October. Saturday came without any sign from Government, and immense crowds were converging on Dublin not merely from other parts of Ireland but also from England and Scotland. Suddenly at a late hour on Saturday afternoon the meeting was forbidden by Government. It was the most critical hour in O'Connell's life, and recognizing what would happen if Government attempted to prevent the meeting by force, he at once issued orders countermanding it. The indignation of Young Ireland at what they termed his cowardice was intense; but the responsibility was his, not theirs, and there can be no doubt that in countermanding the

meeting O'Connell acted not merely humanely but wisely. To have given Dublin Castle merely another chance of putting itself in the wrong, by a general massacre of an unarmed crowd, would have been as much a work of supererogation as an inexpiable crime.

Collapse of the Repeal Agitation. A week later O'Connell and a number of prominent Repealers were arrested on a charge of attempting 'by means of intimidation and the demonstration of great physical force to procure and effect changes to be made in the government, laws, and constitution of this realm'. The charge was one that could have been preferred with equal justice against the authors of Magna Carta. The trial began on 15 January 1844 before a jury from which every Catholic had been carefully excluded, and ended, as it could only end, with the conviction of the prisoners. On 30 May O'Connell was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, to pay a fine of £2,000, and to find security for his good behaviour during the next seven years, himself in £5,000 and two others each in £2,500. Three months later the judgment was reversed on an appeal to the House of Lords, with the scathing remark on the part of Lord Denman that, if such practices as had prevailed in the case were to continue, trial by jury would become a mockery and a delusion. All the same, the victory lay with Peel. The Repeal agitation had been killed, and killed by O'Connell himself. After his 'retreat' at Clontarf it was useless for him to further threaten Government with the demonstration of great physical force. All the world knew that he would not fight. The fact of his failure was borne rudely in upon him during his confinement in Richmond Jail by the sneering comments of Young Ireland on his conduct. For a time he dallied with a scheme for a federal parliament thrown out by the organ of Tory opinion, the *Evening Mail.* But to such a proposal Young Ireland refused absolutely to listen, and finding it impossible to work with him any longer they withdrew from Conciliation Hall in a body.

The Great Famine. Meanwhile the shadow of the Great Famine was beginning to steal slowly over the land. Already in October 1845 it was known that the potato crop had proved almost a complete failure in many parts of the country. On the other hand, the grain crops were above the average, and it was hoped that with a better potato crop next year the danger of famine might be averted. But in July 1846 rumours were current that the fell disease was showing itself once more. By the middle of August there was no doubt that the potato crop had failed entirely. The situation was all the more serious as, owing to a general shortage of food-stuffs that year in Europe and the high price wheat was fetching abroad, Irish grain was rapidly leaving the country. An embargo on its exportation might have alleviated the situation, but the favourable opportunity was lost. Fortunately, in order to relieve the misery caused by the partial failure of the potato in 1845, Peel had authorized the purchase that year of considerable quantities of Indian meal in the United States. The first consignment reached Ireland in March 1846, but at first the Irish peasants would not touch 'Peel's brimstone' in the belief that it would have the effect of turning them black. Eventually the example of their priests and their own hunger cured them of that delusion. With the accession to office of Lord John Russell in July Peel's plan was abandoned for one of relief works. But the relief-works system proved a failure, and in the end Relief Committees administering aid in kind had to be instituted, and by the close of the year more than three millions of people were living on charity.

Effects of the Famine. The failure of the potato was attended with the total collapse of the social and economic system of Ireland. No one was exempt from its consequences. For the peasant it meant either death by starvation or emigration: for the landlord financial ruin. Between 1846 and 1851 more than one million persons died of hunger or its effects and more than one million quitted the country. Of those who left the country

many of them did so willingly, being helped to free passages by their landlords, who seized the opportunity to clear their land of its redundant population. Many more were literally forced to go. It is impossible to describe the feelings with which these poor people took leave of their native country or their sufferings on their way out to America and on their arrival there. But it was in the pangs of grief at parting from their loved ones and in the feelings of anger against the system of government that drove them forth that the Irish-American problem had its origin. In England men were congratulating themselves that the Famine and emigration were solving the Irish question. But deep down in the heart of every Irish emigrant lay a burning love of Ireland and a bitter hatred of England. For the landlords the Famine proved almost as disastrous as it did for their tenants. As a class Irish landlords were never noted for their thrift, but they were not a hard-hearted set of men. Their chief faults were slovenliness and prodigality. Their estates were badly managed and most of them were up to their ears in debt. Three years before the Famine it was calculated that over one thousand estates, representing a rental of £702,822, were in Chancery. The Famine accompanied by the adoption of Free Trade added greatly to the number of bankrupt landlords; but owing to the law of entail nothing could be done for them. Already in 1843 a commission appointed by Peel, and called from its president the Devon Commission, to inquire into the conditions of land-tenure in Ireland, had reported in favour of the adoption of some means for facilitating the sale of mortgaged estates. In 1849 an Act, called the Encumbered Estates Act, was passed carrying out the recommendation of the Devon Commission. But the result was far from satisfactory. At first many landlords were forced by their creditors to sell their estates at prices far below their real value. Worse than this, many of the new purchasers were merely speculators in land, who were no sooner in possession than they started a ruthless campaign of rack-renting, with the alternative of eviction, amongst their

tenantry. So great was the terror inspired by these new landlords that the tenants entered into a league for their own protection. The object of the Tenant-Right League was to secure what was known as the three F's—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale. The League came near to effecting its purpose in Parliament, but on the very eve of victory it fell to pieces owing to religious dissensions amongst its members and the treachery of its leaders.

Rebellion once more. As was to be expected, the Famine had been attended with agrarian disturbances sufficiently serious in Peel's opinion to necessitate strong coercive measures. Accordingly, shortly after the repeal of the Corn Laws he submitted an Arms Bill to Parliament. But the indignation felt by many of his followers at his Free Trade policy led to the rejection of the Bill and the transference of Government to Lord John Russell. Amongst those who protested against the measure was O'Connell. It was his last appearance in the House of Commons. On 15 May 1847 he died at Genoa on his way to Rome, having been preceded to the grave some eighteen months by Thomas Davis. Davis's death was followed by a split in the Young Ireland party and the formation of a new party under the leadership of John Mitchel. Next to Mitchel the most important member of the party was James Finton Lalor. Lalor held strong views on the land question and on the importance of agrarian agitation as a driving power to the acquisition of political independence. At the time, however, his influence was overshadowed by that of Mitchel. Mitchel was a revolutionary pure and simple. His policy was that of Wolfe Tone, and that policy he freely and forcibly expounded in the new weekly organ of the party, the *United Irishman*. But Government was on the alert, and before the sixteenth number of the *United Irishman* appeared Mitchel was arrested, and being found guilty of treason-felony was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. His place was, however, immediately taken by John Martin, and a new newspaper started, called the *Irish Felon.* The *Irish Felon* was almost immediately suppressed, and its editor,

John Martin, transported. In a fit of desperation and without making any adequate preparations, the surviving chiefs of the party, William Smith O'Brien and Thomas Francis Meagher, determined to risk a rising. The rising proved a futile affair, and with the transportation of O'Brien and Meagher and the death shortly afterwards of Lalor the movement came to an end. But the spirit that animated it survived.

The Fenian Conspiracy. Among those who had taken part in the ill-fated rising of '48 were John O'Mahony and James Stephens. Both managed to escape to France, and subsequently O'Mahony went to New York, where he busied himself in founding what he called a Fenian Brotherhood. The name, if not the idea, had come to him in the course of his study of Keating's *History of Ireland*, but, whatever the original Fianna or Fenians might have been, they signified for him merely a body of armed men devoted to the cause of Ireland. The object of the Brotherhood, whose members were bound by an oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic, was to effect the liberation of Ireland by open warfare, secret conspiracy, or any methods whatever. About the time (1858) that O'Mahony was thus occupied Stephens returned to Ireland. His object was to get into touch with a young man of the name of O'Donovan Rossa, who was engaged in running a revolutionary movement on his own account at Skibbereen in County Cork. Unfortunately for O'Donovan, the police got wind of his doings and shortly after Stephens's arrival swooped down on him and extinguished his Phoenix National and Literary Society. But O'Donovan's scheme, failure though it was, suggested the possibility of a secret society based on military principles, and Stephens was soon at work developing his plan of an Irish Republican Brotherhood. The object of the I.R.B. was the liberation of Ireland from England by force of arms. For the purposes of organization Ireland was divided into provinces, and to each province was assigned an organizer whose duty it was to select some specially qualified individual as a 'centre' or colonel, who in

his turn was to choose nine captains, each captain nine sergeants, and each sergeant nine men to form a 'circle' or regiment. In this way a circle would consist of 820 men. The scheme appealed to the military instincts of the Irish, and before long Leinster and Munster and parts of Ulster were dotted with 'circles'. But money to provide arms and ammunition was lacking. To supply this deficiency Stephens went to America, but he only succeeded in raising about £700, and in order to stimulate matters he started the *Irish People* newspaper in 1863. Despite the opposition of the priests the paper proved a financial success, and seeing things beginning to move Stephens next year revisited the United States. At the time it seemed as if Great Britain might go to war over Schleswig-Holstein. In that case Stephens promised that there would be a rising in Ireland, but war or no war he would certainly raise the country in 1865. His declaration stimulated the flow of subscriptions, and returning to Ireland Stephens was busily occupied in making preparations for a rising on the anniversary of Emmet's execution, when the police got wind of his proceedings and raided the offices of the *Irish People*. Shortly afterwards Stephens himself was captured; but by the connivance of his keeper he managed to escape from Richmond Jail and reached America in safety. All danger of an immediate rising in Ireland was at an end, but by this time the conspiracy had spread to England. A bold scheme, in which Michael Davitt was concerned, to capture Chester Castle and seize the Dublin and Holyhead railway in 1867 was only frustrated at the last moment. A number of persons involved in it were captured and sentenced to penal servitude for life; but several of the ringleaders were still at large. Of these two, Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy, were captured at Manchester. They were being conveyed to the county jail at Salford when the police-van was waylaid by five individuals. In the scuffle that ensued Sergeant Brett, who was in charge of the van, was shot. Kelly and Deasy managed to escape; but three of their rescuers—Allen, Larkin,

and O'Brien—were captured, and being condemned for murder were executed. Their execution created a great sensation in Ireland, and a poem composed by T. D. Sullivan commemorating their fate, with the refrain 'God save Ireland', afterwards almost became the Irish national anthem. A few months later an attempt was made to rescue a Fenian prisoner by blowing up Clerkenwell Jail in London. The explosion had not the desired effect, but it killed twelve other prisoners and wounded over 120.

Gladstone and Ireland. On one man, W. E. Gladstone, the Fenian outrages exerted an extraordinary effect. Drawing the almost self-evident conclusion from them that Ireland was discontented, he added the not quite so evident corollary that her discontent was due to three causes—an alien Church, bad land laws, and a defective system of education. Probably most Irishmen would have demurred to his diagnosis of Ireland's disease; but Gladstone knew nothing of Ireland and her real grievances. In this respect his education was only beginning. At the General Election in November 1868 the British electorate responded to his call, to be allowed to settle the Irish question, by returning him with a Liberal majority of 115. Characteristically it was the ecclesiastical side of the question that first attracted Gladstone's attention. On 1 March 1869 he introduced a Bill for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland. The Bill provided for the maintenance of the Church as a self-governing body, it confirmed it in the possession of its ecclesiastical edifices, it enabled clergymen, who wished to retire, to compound for their services, and it established a fund for the satisfaction of all vested interests. In so far as it deprived the Church of its privileged position in a country overwhelmingly Catholic, the Bill, which became law on 26 July, undoubtedly tended to conciliate Catholic opinion, without impairing the usefulness of the Church itself; otherwise it was rather a gratuitous piece of legislation. Next year Gladstone turned to a consideration of the laws regulating the tenure of land in Ireland. As we have seen, in referring to the

Tenant-Right League, the great desire of Irish tenants was the concession of the three F's—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale. Without going the length desired, Gladstone's Bill so far admitted the tenant to a partnership with the landlord in the soil, by securing him in the undisturbed possession of his holding so long as he paid a reasonable or government valuation rent, by enabling him to claim compensation for 'disturbance', i.e. eviction. But the chief innovation in the Bill was its 'Bright Clauses', whereby the Board of Trade was empowered to advance to tenants, desirous of purchasing their holdings, two-thirds of the purchase price, to be repaid by them at the rate of 5 per cent. within thirty-five years. The Bill encountered little opposition and became law on 1 August. As the event proved, except by its 'Bright Clauses' it left matters pretty much as they were, but it must be remembered to Gladstone's credit that it was the first attempt ever made by Parliament to improve the lot of the Irish tenant. Between 1816 and 1843 no fewer than thirty-two measures relating to the land had been placed on the Statute Book, but these had one and all been for the benefit of the landlord. Two years later Gladstone attacked the problem of higher education. There is no question that a well-meant attempt by Peel in 1845 to place higher education on a secular basis, by the establishment (in addition to Trinity College, Dublin) of three colleges, called the Queen's Colleges, at Cork, Galway, and Belfast had, except in the case of Belfast, proved a failure. His 'godless colleges' were regarded with horror by the Catholics, and an attempt had been made by them in 1854 to establish a Catholic University at Dublin. Unfortunately the Catholic University, of which the first Rector was Cardinal Newman, had no power to grant degrees, and being dependent on voluntary subscriptions was always in financial difficulties. In February 1873 Gladstone submitted a measure to Parliament for the incorporation of Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges, and the Catholic University as affiliated colleges in a University of Dublin. Each college was

to retain its special characteristics, but in examination for degrees and in the curriculum of the University itself theology, philosophy, and modern history were to be excluded as contentious subjects. The derision with which Gladstone's proposal was received killed the Bill, and shortly afterwards he resigned office.

Agitation for Home Rule. Gladstone's not very successful attempt to tackle the Irish problem had, however, been received with considerable, though by no means universal, gratitude by Irishmen. To Isaac Butt in particular it seemed as if Englishmen were at last wakening up to the responsibilities entailed on them by the Act of Union. Of their good intentions there could, in his opinion, be no doubt: the misfortune was that they were so very ignorant of Ireland. Butt, it will be remembered, was O'Connell's chief opponent on the occasion of the Corporation Repeal debate in 1843. Since then, however, a great change had come over his political views. Butt was a Protestant, a barrister, and a Member of Parliament. His conversion had been chiefly due to the fact that, having undertaken the defence of some of the Fenian prisoners, he had been led to ponder on 'the depth, the breadth, the sincerity of that love of fatherland that misgovernment had tortured into disaffection and misgovernment, driving men to despair, had exaggerated into revolt'. From being an opponent of Repeal Butt became its most ardent advocate. In 1868 he accepted the position of President of the Amnesty Association, and two years later he assisted at the formation of a Home-Government Association. The object of the Association was to secure for Ireland, under a federal arrangement, the management of her own domestic affairs by a national legislature. The name of the Association was altered in 1872 to that of the Home Rule League, and in 1873 a branch of it, called the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, was established at Manchester. At the General Election in 1874 some sixty members were returned to Parliament more or less pledged to the principles of the League. But under Butt's leadership Home Rule made

small progress. His efforts to convert English opinion attracted little attention, and within the House his arguments were listened to with good-humoured contempt. His invariable courtesy to his opponents did not strengthen his position, and the almost deprecatory fashion in which he urged his appeal so irritated his followers that several of them in the end adopted a more provocative line of conduct. The Rule of the House forbidding contentious measures to be taken after midnight stood them in good stead, and soon a policy of persistent obstruction was in full swing. Among those who supported the policy of obstruction was Charles Stuart Parnell, M.P. for County Meath. Though an Irish landlord of English descent, Parnell had inherited from his American mother an almost fanatical hatred of England, and perhaps hatred of England rather than love of Ireland was the motive principle of his political conduct. Of an unusually taciturn disposition, he first attracted attention by a passionate repudiation of a reference by the Chief Secretary of the day to the 'Manchester murders'. 'I wish to say,' he remarked, 'as publicly and directly as I can, that I do not believe that any murder was committed at Manchester.' His contemptuous defiance of English opinion brought him into conflict with Butt, but his attitude was approved by Irishmen, and at the annual meeting of the Home Rule Confederation in 1877 at Liverpool Parnell was elected President in Butt's place.

The Land League. Shortly afterwards Parnell made the acquaintance of Michael Davitt. Davitt was the son of a Mayo peasant and knew from personal experience what the hardships of peasant life were. When merely a youth he became a Fenian, and for eight years he had been incarcerated in Dartmoor Jail for his share in the attack on Chester Castle. During his imprisonment he had given much thought to the Irish problem, and had become thoroughly convinced of the truth of Lalor's doctrine, that the political regeneration of Ireland could only be effected by means of an agrarian revolution. In December 1877 Davitt was released

on a ticket of leave, and amongst those who welcomed him on his return to Ireland was Parnell. Parnell made a great impression on Davitt, and on visiting the United States shortly afterwards on a lecturing tour, Davitt endeavoured to secure the support of Irish-American opinion for him. He was so far successful that, on returning to Ireland early in 1879 he was accompanied by John Devoy, one of the chiefs of the Clan-na-Gael. Davitt's return coincided with a period of agricultural distress attended by evictions on a large scale in the west of Ireland. At his request Parnell consented to address a meeting of farmers at Westport in June, and in the course of his speech Parnell advised his hearers, at whatever cost to themselves, to keep a tight grip on their holdings. Coming from a landlord it was an extraordinary piece of advice, but Parnell had, like Davitt, become a convert to Lalor's doctrine. In October a National Land League for the protection of tenants' interests was established at Dublin with Parnell as its President. A few weeks later Parnell sailed for America. In going to America Parnell's object was to secure the financial support of the Clan-na-Gael. Not being a Fenian himself his position was one of peculiar difficulty. Something he saw he would have to concede to the doctrine of physical force, and in stating his views at this time he declared, 'A true revolutionary movement in Ireland should, in my opinion, partake both of a constitutional and an illegal character. It should be both an open and a secret organization, using the Constitution for its own purposes, but also taking advantage of its secret combination.' This was sailing very near the wind, but the Fenians were not deceived as to the real character of his agitation, and though many of them gave him their individual support, the Clan-na-Gael as a body would have nothing to do with his 'New Departure'.

Agrarian Agitation. Returning to Ireland Parnell found the country in the throes of a General Election. The General Election of 1880 resulted in a victory for Gladstone and the Liberal party; but no sooner had Parliament met than it was

again called upon to legislate for Ireland. The harvest of 1879 had been one of the worst on record. Tenants in many parts of the country were unable to pay their rents, and in order to afford them some relief a Bill was passed by the Commons securing them compensation for their improvements in case of eviction; but the Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. Thereupon the cause of the tenants was taken up by the Land League, and strict orders were issued by it prohibiting the payment of rents and forbidding any one taking farms from which the tenants had been ejected. But in their greed for land, the order of the League in the latter particular was not generally obeyed by the peasants. To put an end to their recalcitrance Parnell, addressing a meeting of farmers at Ennis in the autumn, said, 'when a man takes a farm from which another has been evicted you must shun him on the roadside when you meet him, you must shun him in the streets of the town, you must shun him at the shop-counter, you must shun him in the fair and in the market-place, and even in the house of worship'. The system of exclusive dealing or, as it was popularly called, boycotting, from the name of its first principal victim, Captain Boycott, proved a formidable weapon of intimidation in the hands of the League. The terror it inspired and the hardships it inflicted on perfectly innocent and helpless people were indescribable. Day after day the English newspapers were full of accounts of the outrages on life and property with which the movement was attended. When Parliament reassembled in January 1881 the Chief Secretary, W. E. Forster, submitted a Bill to enable Government to deal drastically with the situation. The Bill was fiercely opposed by the Parnellites, but eventually it became law in March.

Gladstone and Parnell. Having thus, as he thought, vindicated the authority of law and order, Gladstone shortly afterwards introduced a new measure of land reform. The Bill he submitted to Parliament in April admitted the principle of the Three F's. Its cardinal feature was the establishment of a Land

Court to regulate rents as between landlord and tenant. The merits of the Bill were admitted by Parnell, but, not knowing how the Land Court would act and perhaps with the object of bringing pressure to bear on it, he, shortly after the measure had become law, advised the tenants to hold their hands till the impartiality of the Land Court had been tested. His attitude was misinterpreted by Gladstone, and in October he took the hazardous step of locking up Parnell and several of his colleagues in Kilmainham Jail. The Land League replied with a manifesto calling on the tenants to pay no rent till their leaders were released. Government retaliated by suppressing the Land League. But agrarian agitation attended by outrages on life and property continued, and in the end Gladstone, yielding to the force of public opinion, consented to a compromise. By the intervention of Joseph Chamberlain, an agreement, known as the Treaty of Kilmainham, was arranged, whereby Parnell consented, on being released, to 'slow down' agitation. At the same time facilities were offered for the introduction of a Bill to apply the surplus revenue of the Irish Church to the liquidation of arrears of rent. The settlement was followed by Forster's resignation and the appointment of Lord Frederick Cavendish as Irish Secretary. As Cavendish, on the day of his arrival in Dublin, was crossing the Phoenix Park accompanied by the Under-Secretary, Thomas Henry Burke, they were attacked by a band of miscreants and assassinated. The deed sent a thrill of horror through England, and recognizing the gravity of the situation Parnell published a manifesto, signed by himself and Davitt and Dillon, denouncing the cowardly crime. But Englishmen suspected his sincerity, and though the murdered statesman's widow interposed with a plea of mercy, a most drastic Crimes Bill was rapidly, and despite the desperate resistance of the Irish party, passed through Parliament. Being firmly administered by Earl Spencer the Crimes Act gradually reduced Ireland to a state of quiescence, and the advocates of physical force, finding their opportunities

for outrage cut short there, transferred their activities to Great Britain. Thanks to the vigilance of the police the Dynamitards were unable to do much mischief, but for two years they kept the country, and particularly London, in a state of terror.

The Irish Vote. As the three years assigned for the operation of the Crimes Act drew to a close and the question of its renewal had to be faced, Gladstone, fearing to relax the reins too suddenly, decided to apply to Parliament for a renewal of some of its main clauses. But his decision was resented by a number of his followers, and owing to their defection he was obliged to surrender the seals of office to Lord Salisbury. Without the Irish vote Salisbury was unable to carry on the government. Parnell's price was the abandonment of coercion and the concession of some measure of Home Rule. Without exactly committing himself in either particular, Salisbury allowed it to be known that the Crimes Act would be allowed to lapse. More than this, he consented to appoint the Earl of Carnarvon, whose pro-Irish sympathies were well known, Viceroy. On arriving in Dublin Carnarvon received a hearty welcome from the populace, and shortly afterwards he had, at his own request, an interview with Parnell. The interview led Parnell to believe that Salisbury was prepared to concede some measure of self-government. The impression was confirmed by the action of Government at this moment in passing an Act, known as the Ashbourne Act, to enable tenants on estates, where the owners were willing to sell, to become, with the assistance of the State, the proprietors of their own holdings. The Act, however, had proved a great strain on the loyalty of the Conservatives, and knowing that many of them were dissatisfied with Salisbury's policy, Parnell, in view of the approaching General Election in December, was anxious to test Gladstone's attitude towards Home Rule. But Gladstone, during his Midlothian campaign, was not to be drawn further than to admit that he would, if the opportunity was afforded him, give effect to the constitutionally expressed

desire of the Irish people. By the reflection it cast on his authority, as the accredited leader of the Irish party, Gladstone's announcement wounded Parnell's pride, and in his annoyance he issued a manifesto calling on the Irish in Great Britain to vote against the Liberals. The result of the General Election was that 86 pledged Parnellites held the balance between 335 Liberals and 249 Conservatives. Finding in the circumstances that it was impossible to carry on the government without becoming Parnell's tool, Salisbury, to the satisfaction of his party, took the earliest opportunity to resign, whereupon Gladstone once more resumed office.

Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill. In announcing his acceptance of office Gladstone declared it to be his intention to give effect to the constitutionally expressed desire of the Irish people for a national legislature, to deal with Irish as distinguished from Imperial affairs. His announcement was followed by the defection of many of his most trusted and valued colleagues—Bright, Hartington, James, Goschen, Chamberlain, and Trevelyan—and the formation of a Unionist party. Their defection was a great blow to Gladstone, but, feeling that he was pursuing the only course open to him as an honest statesman, he submitted his Home Rule Bill to Parliament on 8 April 1886. The Bill provided for a statutory Parliament to sit in Dublin and to legislate for Ireland under certain restrictions, deemed necessary for the preservation and unity of the Empire. It was to consist of two orders—one of 103 members representing the nobility and propertied class, elected every ten years on a franchise of £200 a year, the other of 204 members elected in the usual fashion. Both orders were to sit together, but either could demand a separate vote, in which case, however, the concurrence of both was required to an act of legislation. The viceroy, who might be either a Protestant or a Catholic, was to hold office permanently. So long as it existed, the Royal Irish Constabulary was to remain under the control of the Imperial Parliament, so too were the Customs and Excise.

The Irish representative peers were to cease to sit in the House of Lords, and likewise the Irish members in the House of Commons. Attached to the Bill was a Land Purchase Scheme, creating £50,000,000 three per cent. stock to provide a fund to buy out all landlords desiring to sell their estates. The Bill was accepted by Parnell as a final liquidation of the claims of Ireland against England, but it was rejected on its second reading by 343 to 313. An appeal to the country merely resulted in a confirmation of the vote, and the transference of the Government once more to Lord Salisbury.

Ireland under Mr. Balfour. Salisbury's accession to power coincided with a general fall in the price of agricultural produce, and in view of the fact that Irish farmers would probably be unable to pay the judicial rents falling due in November, Parnell, in September, introduced a Bill for a general revision of rents. The Bill was, however, rejected, and shortly afterwards a movement, called the 'Plan of Campaign', was started to force landlords, by withholding their rents from them, to grant substantial reductions. The plan was put in operation with some success on about forty estates, but it was wholly illegal, and when it led to disturbances the new Chief Secretary, Mr. A. Balfour, introduced a new Crimes Bill into Parliament to enable him to cope with the situation. Unlike former Crimes Acts passed for a limited period, Mr. Balfour's Bill possessed the novelty of being a permanent piece of legislation. It was fiercely contested by the Parnellites and their Gladstonian allies, and, in order to assist its passage through the Commons, *The Times* started a series of articles entitled 'Parnellism and Crime'. The series culminated in what purported to be a facsimile letter from Parnell, shortly after the Phoenix Park murders, excusing his condemnation of them on tactical grounds. The authenticity of the letter was at once denied by the Irish leader, but Englishmen were in no humour to believe him, and though his denial was afterwards confirmed by a Special Commission, appointed to inquire into the working of

the Nationalist movement, the forged letter served its turn. The Crimes Bill became law, but almost at the same time Parliament gave its consent to a Bill embodying Parnell's demand for a revision of judicial rents and extending the benefits of the Land Act of 1881 to leaseholders. Coercion and conciliation were to go hand in hand. Mr. Balfour's task was not an easy one. The Land Act was regarded with disfavour by the landlords, the Crimes Act was a constant theme of reproach with Nationalists. An unfortunate encounter between the latter and the police, attended with loss of life, at a political meeting at Mitchelstown added to the asperity of the situation, but Mr. Balfour held steadily to his determination to administer the law with equal justice. Little by little he fought his way into the confidence of both landlord and peasant, and by his system of light-railways, connecting outlying places in the west with the main lines, and by the large extension he gave to the Ashbourne Act he did much to promote the commercial prosperity of the country and relieve congestion.

Parnell's Downfall. While success was attending Mr. Balfour's efforts to restore law and order in Ireland misfortune continued to dog the steps of the Nationalists. Tactically, the alliance between the Parnellites and Gladstonian Liberals, as tending to the absorption of the former by the latter, was a mistake, but worse even than the subordination of national to party aims was the growing indifference of Parnell, owing to his unfortunate connexion with Mrs. O'Shea, to politics. After his rehabilitation before the Special Commission Parnell had become somewhat of a hero in the eyes of Englishmen, conscious of the wrong they had formerly done him. But the good effects of his victory over *The Times* was almost instantly dispelled by his appearance as co-respondent in the divorce court. The feeling, manifest at first in many quarters, to regard the charge as merely another attempt to damage his political reputation, yielded gradually to one of disgust as the unromantic details of his love affair trickled

out in the Press, and it was generally felt that he would do well to imitate the example of another famous statesman and retire for a time from political life. Perhaps Parnell might have taken this step had not an ill-timed expression of confidence in him by his colleagues coupled with the hesitating attitude of Archbishop Walsh, as the exponent of Catholic opinion in Ireland, led him to underestimate the effect of his offence. But it was really a threat on the part of Gladstone, voicing Nonconformist opinion, to abandon the cause of Home Rule if he did not retire, that determined him, as he expressed it, 'to stick to his guns'. Parnell's decision placed his colleagues in an awkward position. For believing, as many of them did, that the success of Home Rule was dependent on Gladstone's support, they felt that no other course was open to them than to rescind the vote of confidence they had too hastily given him. Whatever may be urged in their justification from a moral point of view, their disavowal of Parnell was an act of supreme political folly and a crime against Ireland. In its consequences it damaged parliamentarism irretrievably in the eyes of young Ireland, and prepared the way for Sinn Féin and the Rebellion of 1916. For a time Parnell struggled with the madness of despair to recover his authority; but, returning from one of his open-air meetings drenched to the skin, he was seized by a violent fever and died on 6 October 1891. When his remains were shortly afterwards laid to rest in Glasnevin Cemetery, it was significant of the revulsion of feeling that followed his death that not a single one of his political opponents ventured to attend his funeral.

Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill. Six months later Parliament, having run its legal term of existence, was dissolved. The General Election in July 1892 resulted in the return of 355 Home Rulers against 315 Unionists, and shortly after the meeting of the new Parliament in August, Government being defeated on a direct vote of a want of confidence, Gladstone once more became Prime Minister. Public opinion in Great Britain was still averse

to Home Rule, but feeling himself more than ever, since Parnell's death, bound to redeem his promise to Ireland, Gladstone, on 13 February 1893, submitted his second Home Rule Bill to Parliament. The Bill exhibited some notable points of difference from that of 1886. This time the Irish members were not to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament, but their number was to be reduced to eighty. Instead of the two orders sitting and voting together, there was to be a Legislative Council of 48 members and a Legislative Assembly of 103, the former possessing a temporary veto on all measures passed by the latter. There was to be no contribution on the part of Ireland to Imperial expenses, and finally the settlement of the land question was to be left to the Irish Parliament itself. The Bill passed the Commons on 1 September by a majority of 34, but a week later it was rejected in the House of Lords by 419 to 41. Gladstone, it is said, was desirous of again appealing to the country, but, being dissuaded by his colleagues, he surrendered the seals of office to Lord Rosebery. Except in its administrative capacity the short-lived Ministry of Lord Rosebery possessed little importance for Ireland, and even in its administrative capacity the frank avowal of the Premier of his intention to shelve Home Rule, until the British electorate had definitely declared in its favour, cast a blighting influence on the well-meant efforts of the Chief Secretary, Mr., now Lord, Morley, to vindicate the principles of Liberal government. A Bill to regulate rents on what its enemies described as the 'prairie value' of land was under discussion when the Ministry, being defeated on a side issue, fell. The General Election in 1895 resulted in a great victory for the Unionists and the formation of a strong Administration under Mr. A. Balfour. Early next year a Bill was passed, extending the principles of the Ashbourne Act, to facilitate the sale of land by proprietors willing to part with their estates. The Bill was symptomatic of the determination of Government 'to kill Home Rule by kindness'.

The Irish Renaissance. Meanwhile, under the combined effects of the split in the Nationalist party and the rejection of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, politics had ceased for a time to interest Irishmen. The same year (1893) that saw the rejection of the Home Rule Bill saw also the establishment by Dr. Douglas Hyde of the Gaelic League. Owing to the famine, emigration, and the so-called 'national' system of education the knowledge of Irish was rapidly disappearing in many parts of the country where it had once been quite familiar. It was to save it from becoming quite extinct and to extend the use of it that Dr. Hyde founded his League. The idea appealed to Irishmen irrespective of their political creed but Irish is not an easy language to learn, and despite the help furnished by Father O'Growney's *Simple Lessons*, it is to be feared that the language movement would speedily have collapsed had not its political importance been observed and led to a demand for making Irish a compulsory study in schools. Closely connected with the language movement was one for reviving the interest of Irishmen in the history, arts, and literature of their country. Here men who had no knowledge of the language or patience to learn it could join in, and being backed by the establishment of a national theatre for the cultivation of a distinctly Irish drama, Dr. Hyde's Gaelic League became the centre of a real *Renaissance*. For Ireland the significance of the Gaelic League became manifest when the boys and girls educated in its ideals came to manhood. But till then nearly a generation had to pass away. The language movement was still in its infancy when attention was drawn, at a Convention of the Irish race at Dublin in 1896, to the over-taxation of Ireland, revealed by the publication of a report by a commission, known as the Childers Commission, appointed by Lord Rosebery's Government to inquire into the financial aspects of the Union. The report had the effect of drawing Irishmen of different political creeds but touched by a common grievance together on the same platform. But even more im-

portant in this respect was a movement set on foot in 1895 by Mr., afterwards Sir Horace, Plunkett for the development of Irish industries. An invitation addressed by him to all sections of politicians, to consider the means outside politics by which the material prosperity of Ireland could be improved, led to the establishment of an Irish Agricultural Organization Society. Before long the efforts of the Society to promote better methods of farming, by the formation of co-operative dairy-farms and creameries, to foster cottage industries, and to extricate the peasant from the clutches of the 'gombeen-man' or local usurer, by the establishment of small-credit banks, began to be attended with considerable success.[1] Noting the fact, Government gave its support to the movement by a Bill establishing a permanent Department of Agriculture, of which Sir Horace Plunkett was put in charge.

Renewal of Agrarian Agitation. The effect of these movements, and particularly of the I.A.O.S., in distracting public attention from politics was not regarded with universal satisfaction. To fervent Nationalists it seemed as if Ireland was bartering her birthright for a mess of pottage, while to ultra-Unionists the efforts of Government to kill Home Rule with kindness appeared to be attended with results almost as fatal to them as Home Rule itself. But before matters had gone further the attention of both parties was drawn to a subject of much more serious importance. In 1898 there was once more a partial failure of the potato crop, and landlords, finding it impossible to collect their rents, ejected their defaulting tenants and let their lands for grazing purposes on an eleven months' lease, whereby no tenant-right was created. To meet this danger a United Irish League was started by Mr. William O'Brien in the centre of the disturbed district. Incidentally its establishment led to a reconciliation

[1] In passing it may be remarked that in 1918 the I.A.O.S. comprised over 1,000 branches with a membership of 120,000, representing about 600,000 of the rural population, transacting business to the value of over £12,000,000 annually.

between the Parnellites and anti-Parnellites and the reconstruction of the Nationalist party under John Redmond. The object of the League was the compulsory expropriation of all landlords. The agitation thus set on foot was unintentionally strengthened by the purchase on the part of the Congested Districts Board, established by Mr. Balfour to relieve over-population in the west, of an estate belonging to Lord Dillon in County Roscommon. There were about 4,000 tenants on the Dillon estate paying an average rent of £3 a year. The Board at once reduced rents all round 10 per cent., remitted £20,000 arrears, and purchased 2,000 acres additional land to enlarge the tenants' holdings. The consequence was that the tenants on the neighbouring estates struck for what they called the 'Dillon rent'. They received the support of the League and a fresh agrarian war broke out. The matter was taken up by the Irish Unionist Alliance, and strong pressure was brought to bear on Government to avail itself of the powers conferred on it by the Crimes Act of 1887 to suppress disorder. Early in 1902 a proclamation was published putting several of its leading provisions into force. But outside the narrow circle of the Unionist Alliance it was generally recognized that coercion offered no hope of a permanent settlement, and Irish landlords themselves were tired of the eternal struggle. At the suggestion of Captain Shawe Taylor a Land Conference was arranged in December between several prominent landowners and the chiefs of the Nationalist party, as representing the tenants. The Conference was unanimous in advising the total abolition of a dual ownership of the soil. The hint was not lost upon Government, and early in 1903 the Chief Secretary, Mr. Wyndham, submitted a Bill to Parliament for the creation of a fund of £100,000,000 to expropriate landowners willing to sell their estates. Having passed the Commons amid the general applause of the House, the Bill speedily became law and greatly contributed to the pacification of Ireland. By 1920 nearly £70,000,000 had been advanced under its provisions to over

200,000 tenants. In this way nearly 10¾ million acres of land have passed into the hands of peasant proprietors, and arrangements were then pending for the transfer of a further 2¾ million acres.

Devolution as a substitute for Home Rule. The unexpected success that had attended the Land Conference, by enforcing the advantages of united action, gave rise to the belief that the political question might be solved by similar methods. In August 1904 the Land Conference Committee transformed itself into an Irish Reform Association, and, on the report of its Organizing Committee, it was shortly afterwards determined to apply to Government for the transference from the Treasury to an Irish Financial Council of the money (£6,000,000) annually applied to Ireland for domestic purposes. This Financial Council, of which the Lord Lieutenant was to be the President and the Chief Secretary the Vice-President, was to consist of twenty-five members, of whom twelve were to be elected by groups of county, borough, and parliamentary constituencies and eleven nominated by the Crown. The Council was to have full control of the money spent in Ireland, but its decisions might be reversed in the House of Commons by a majority of not less than one-fourth of the total votes given. The proposal was at once denounced by extreme Unionists as an insidious attempt at Home Rule, and some of them, going farther than the facts warranted them, charged Mr. Wyndham with being the author of the plan. The charge was immediately repudiated, but finding that the Under-Secretary, Sir Antony MacDonnell, had, without his knowledge, given some encouragement to the plan, Mr. Wyndham resigned his office of Chief Secretary. The controversy came at an awkward time for Mr. Balfour owing to the dissensions which had arisen in his own party on the question of Tariff Reform, and though, in view of their common danger, the Unionists closed their ranks, the controversy had the effect of bringing Home Rule once more to the front. Speaking at Stirling in November 1905 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared that 'to secure good

administration was one thing, but good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves'. At the General Election in January 1906 the Liberals succeeded in sweeping the country. All the same, Devolution continued to retain its hold on public opinion as a means of conceding Home Rule by instalments. In the spirit of this new policy the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, submitted a measure to Parliament in May 1907, conferring extensive powers of self-government on Ireland. The Irish Councils Bill was accepted by Redmond as a step to Home Rule, but being rejected by a National Convention at Dublin it was wisely withdrawn. Its rejection as a substitute for Home Rule was emphasized by the formation of an 'All for Ireland' party under Mr. W. O'Brien, and the reassertion in Parliament of the demand for Home Rule. Mr. Birrell's failure was followed next year by a successful effort on his part to settle the long-standing question of higher education. His Bill establishing two universities—the one at Belfast, the other at Dublin—in addition to Dublin University (Trinity College), though based professedly on non-sectarian grounds, effectively met the demand of Presbyterians and Roman Catholics for equal treatment with Episcopalians, and provided each section of the community with a system of education answering its own special requirements.

Beginnings of Sinn Féin. The rejection of Mr. Birrell's Irish Councils Bill was largely due to a revived demand for national independence, inspired by the teaching of the Gaelic League. The demand was strengthened by the centenary celebrations of the Rebellion of 1798 and the foundation under the editorship of Mr. A. Griffith in 1899 of a weekly newspaper called the *United Irishman.* The newspaper, recalling by its title the short-lived enterprise of John Mitchel in the forties, was redolent of Wolfe Tone and the men of '98. Its attitude towards the Parliamentary party and the Catholic clergy was almost as frankly hostile as it was towards Dublin Castle itself. The year following, a society, called the Cumann na nGaedhel, was established in

Dublin. The object of the society was to advance the cause of national independence. But how this was to be done only became clear when Mr. Griffith expounded what he called his 'Hungarian' policy at the third annual meeting of the Cumann na nGaedhel in 1902. Few historians are likely to agree with Mr. Griffith in his estimate of Magyar institutions; but in his opinion Hungary won her independence by refusing to send delegates to the Austrian Reichsrat in 1861. The inference was, let Ireland abstain from recognizing the authority of the British Parliament by sending members to Westminster, and she too would secure her national independence. The inefficiency of a purely negative policy of 'don't have anything to do with England but rely on yourselves', summed up in the motto Sinn Féin or 'We Ourselves', to accomplish anything of importance was too apparent to command much support, even when supplemented by the establishment three years later of a National Parliament, under the title of Dáil Eireann. Least of all was it likely to be received with sympathy by such men as Messrs. Connolly and Larkin, who were engaged at the time in trying to secure the active support of the Trades Unions of Great Britain in their efforts to improve the lot of the Irish industrial labourer. One enthusiastic adherent, Mr. C. Dolan, M.P. for North Leitrim, did, it is true, resign his seat in 1908 and seek re-election as a Sinn Féin candidate. But the electorate was not ripe for such heroic experiments, and Mr. Dolan's defeat by more than three to one reacted unfavourably on the movement.

Third Home Rule Bill. Such was the general state of affairs when Campbell-Bannerman died and was succeeded in the premiership by Mr. Asquith. Shortly after the reconstruction of Administration under Mr. Asquith the House of Commons became involved in a fierce controversy with the House of Lords, owing to the attitude taken up by the latter in regard to the Budget proposals of Mr. Lloyd George. Parliament was dissolved in December 1909, and the General Election in the following

January, by placing the balance of power in Redmond's hands, enabled him to strike a bargain with Government as to the price of his support for the Veto Bill. His price was Home Rule. The Veto Bill, disabling the House of Lords from altering Money Bills, and providing that, in the case of any other Bill which had passed the Commons in three successive sessions, the assent of the Crown was sufficient to give it the force of law, was only carried after a fresh appeal to the country and an intimation that the Crown was prepared to create as many peers as were necessary to secure its acceptance by the House of Lords. The Veto Bill cleared the way for Home Rule, and on 11 April the third Home Rule Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. The measure in its main features differed little from that of 1893. Ireland was to be provided with an independent Parliament, consisting of a Senate of forty nominated members and a House of Commons of 164 members, being one for every 27,000 inhabitants. Its authority was to be confined to purely domestic affairs, and for the time being the Imperial Parliament was to retain control of all matters connected with Land Purchase, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, the Royal Irish Constabulary, Post-Office Savings Bank, and the collection of taxation other than postage. No laws affecting the religious liberty of the subject were to be passed by the Irish Parliament, and the Lord Lieutenant was to have an absolute veto on all measures disapproved of by the Imperial Government. Ireland was to be represented in the Imperial Parliament by forty-two members, being one for every 100,000 inhabitants. The question of revenue and taxation was the subject of special regulations, of which the main feature was the establishment of a joint Board of Exchequer. The Bill, amended in one or two particulars, passed its third reading for the first time in the House of Commons by 367 to 257 on 16 January 1913; a fortnight later it was rejected by the House of Lords by 326 to 69.

Reception of the Bill in Ireland. In Ireland the Bill was re-

ceived with very different feelings in different quarters. To the Nationalists, who had borne the brunt of the long-continued struggle, it seemed an eminently satisfactory compromise. To Sinn Féin, on the other hand, it appeared totally inadequate, as satisfying ' no claim of the Irish nation whose roots are in Tara ' ; while Connolly dismissed it in the *Irish Worker* as ' the rottenest bargain ever made by a victorious people with a mean, pettifogging, despised Government '. In Ulster, as was to be expected, the Bill was received with dismay, and before long a strong agitation was started to resist it at all costs. The agitation culminated in the signing of a Solemn Covenant by nearly half a million men and women, pledging themselves ' to stand by one another, in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland '. Soon afterwards it was known that the Protestants in Ulster were arming. The establishment of the Ulster Volunteers was almost immediately followed by the formation of a rival body in the south, under the title of the Irish Volunteers. The uncompromising attitude of Ulster was not without its effect on Government, and the Home Rule Bill having been rejected a second time by the Lords, Mr. Asquith in March 1914 announced his intention to bring in an Amending Bill, whereby any county, in which a majority of voters desired to be excluded from the operation of the Home Rule Bill, might do so for a period of six years from the date of the first sitting of the Dublin Parliament. The compromise was accepted by Redmond but rejected by the Ulster leader, Sir Edward Carson. Things were in this uncertain condition when what is known as ' the Curragh mutiny ' occurred. The mutiny, if such it may be called, was due to an order on the part of the Secretary for War, commanding a considerable body of troops to be moved from the Curragh into Ulster. The order was construed by the officers commanding these troops as indicating an intention to coerce

Ulster and was followed by their resignation. Their conduct was no doubt due to a mistake, but it pointed to a very serious condition of affairs in the army. The matter was still under discussion when it became known that the Ulster Volunteers had succeeded, almost under the eyes of the police, in landing a large consignment of rifles from Germany at Larne on 24 April. A month later the Home Rule Bill passed the Commons for a third time by 351 to 274. Nothing but the King's Assent was now wanting to enable it to become law. But public attention was chiefly directed to the promised Amending Bill. The Bill was introduced into the House of Lords on 23 June, and at once became the subject of fierce controversy. In the commotion created by it the news of the murder of the heir to the Austrian Crown and his wife at Sarajevo on 28 June passed almost unnoticed. The danger of civil war in Ireland was imminent, and in the hope of finding a way out of the difficulty the King invited the party leaders to a conference at Buckingham Palace on 20 July. Four days later the conference separated without effecting an agreement. On 26 July an attempt on the part of the Irish Volunteers to run a cargo of arms at Howth Harbour led to a collision with the military at Batchelor's Walk, on the quays in Dublin, in which several civilians were killed and many more wounded. The next day a fierce controversy on the subject was in progress in the House of Commons when the news arrived that Austria was at war with Serbia.

Ireland during the European War. The news of war exercised a sobering effect on the House, and hardly had Sir Edward Grey made his memorable speech than Redmond announced Ireland's solidarity with Great Britain in the coming conflict. It was taken for granted that the concession of Home Rule had worked the miracle; but Home Rule was still not on the Statute Book, and in Ireland it was felt, especially in Sinn Féin circles, that Redmond's action was somewhat premature. The feeling gained ground, and was further confirmed by the Premier's intimation a month later of Government's intention

to place Home Rule on the Statute Book, accompanied by a Suspensory Act to prevent it becoming immediately operative. Mr. Asquith's visit to Dublin shortly afterwards did something to neutralize the bad effects his announcement had on recruiting and to rehabilitate Redmond in public opinion. But faster than either Mr. Asquith or Redmond was aware Ireland was drifting into rebellion. On the very eve of the Premier's visit a manifesto was published by the Committee of the Irish Volunteers condemning Redmond's efforts to recruit for the army. The manifesto caused a split in the Irish Volunteers, and while some of them joined Redmond as the National Volunteers, others, retaining their original title, remained constant in their allegiance to the cause of Irish independence. Meanwhile Sinn Féin, having found an outlet for its suppressed energy, was busily engaged in organizing resistance to Government, with the result that, while recruiting for the army declined visibly outside Ulster during 1915, the number of Irish Volunteers increased rapidly. By the beginning of 1916 it seemed evident to every one except the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, and Redmond that Ireland was on the brink of rebellion. Such was the state of affairs when news reached the Government that a vessel called the *Aud*, with a concealed cargo of arms and ammunition, had sailed from Wilhelmshaven for Ireland on 12 April, accompanied by a German submarine with Sir Roger Casement and two other Irishmen on board. Casement was an ardent member of the Sinn Féin party, and ever since the outbreak of the War one of its most active agents in stimulating resistance to England in America and Germany. His rôle exactly resembled that of Wolfe Tone. His object was the same, and his fate, it may be added, not much different. The *Aud* was timed to reach the west coast of Ireland on 22 April, and punctual to the day Casement and his companions were set on shore at Ardfert in County Kerry. But the police had been warned, and before many hours had elapsed Casement was on his way to the Tower.

The Rebellion and Afterwards. Casement's capture completely

disarranged the plans of the conspirators for a general rising throughout the country on Easter Sunday, 23 April, and on Saturday afternoon an order was issued countermanding the insurrection. Next day, however, this order was cancelled and fresh instructions were issued for a mobilization of the Dublin Volunteers on Monday. The first order had a disastrous effect on the rising in the country, but, by throwing the Government off its guard, it enabled the conspirators to strike an effective blow in Dublin itself. The attempt to surprise the Castle and capture Trinity College and the Bank of Ireland failed, but shortly after noon on Monday the rebels got possession of several buildings of strategic importance in the city, including the General Post-Office in Sackville Street, which at once became the Head-quarters of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. Meanwhile Government, having recovered from its surprise, was taking active steps to crush the Rebellion, and before many hours had elapsed large bodies of troops from the Curragh and elsewhere were converging on the city. The inability of the rebels to get possession of the line between Trinity College and the Castle proved of great disadvantage to them, by intercepting direct communication north and south of the Liffey, and, with the arrival at Kingstown that same evening of large reinforcements from England, their position soon became very precarious. On Tuesday and Wednesday there was some heavy fighting on the route between Ball's Bridge and Merrion Square, but by noon on Thursday the position was carried. With the arrival early on Friday morning of Sir John Maxwell, as commander-in-chief, the work of ' squeezing out ' the rebels was taken vigorously in hand. By noon on Saturday it was clear that further resistance was useless, and at 2 o'clock orders were issued from Head-quarters for a general surrender. The Rebellion was at an end. Of the material damage done, estimated at roughly £2,000,000, we need not speak. Most of the leaders paid for their failure with their lives. Of those who were executed it may be taken for granted

that they met their fate bravely ; but the manner of their execution and the callous fashion in which their deaths were notified to the public defeated the ends of justice. Fortunately the number of those executed was comparatively small. For the majority penal servitude for shorter or longer periods was deemed a sufficient punishment. Sir Roger Casement having, as we remarked, been sent to England, was tried before the High Court of Justice, and, being convicted of rendering assistance to Germany, was hanged as a traitor on 3 August.

Renewed Efforts to Settle the Irish Question. Shortly after the suppression of the Rebellion Mr. Asquith paid a personal visit to Dublin. He returned, as he explained to the House of Commons on 25 May, fully convinced of the inefficiency of Castle Rule and the necessity of entrusting Irishmen with the government of their own country. At the unanimous request of his colleagues Mr. Lloyd George undertook to work out a suitable plan. Mr. Lloyd George's proposal was to bring the Home Rule Act into immediate operation, coupled with an Amending Act retaining the Irish members at Westminster and placing the six counties of Antrim, Down, Londonderry, Armagh, Tyrone, and Fermanagh under the Imperial Government for the period of the War and a short time afterwards. The proposal, though respectfully received by both Sir Edward Carson and Redmond, proved unacceptable to the southern Unionists, and the situation, in consequence of their opposition, growing critical, Lord Wimborne was reappointed Viceroy with Mr. Duke as Chief Secretary, and things in Ireland reverted to their old unsatisfactory condition. Towards the close of the year Mr. Asquith was superseded by Mr. Lloyd George as head of the Government. The attitude of the new Premier was one of dispassionate friendliness to both parties in Ireland. He was, he declared, willing to grant Home Rule immediately to any part of Ireland which clearly demanded it, but he would have no hand in forcing it on those who did not want it. Later on, in March 1917, he announced Government's readiness

to summon a Convention of Irishmen in Ireland to frame a constitution for the future government of Ireland within the Empire. The proposal was favourably received, and while preparations to give effect to it were in progress Government, in order to create an atmosphere of goodwill, released all those persons who had been imprisoned for their share in the Rebellion. The concession failed to have the desired result. On the contrary, the return of the prisoners was everywhere made the occasion of a display of ill-feeling against the Government. At Cork, in particular, rioting assumed such dangerous proportions that the military had to be called out to restore order. When the Convention met as appointed in Dublin on 25 July, Sinn Féin would have nothing to do with it. The significance of its abstention was evident when Mr. de Valera, who had acquired considerable reputation as commandant at Boland's Mills in the Rebellion, was returned for East Clare with a majority of nearly 3,000 over the Nationalist candidate. In September the funeral of Thomas Ashe, who had died on hunger strike in Mountjoy Prison, was made the occasion of a great demonstration against Government. The demonstration was followed by a Convention of Sinn Féin at the Mansion House on 25 October. Officially, Sinn Féin had taken no part in the Rebellion, but the events following the Rebellion having led to a great accession to its membership, a strong desire manifested itself to substitute a more active policy for that of simple passive resistance, on which Mr. Griffith relied for the attainment of national independence. A motion to combine the political organization of Sinn Féin with the military organization of the Volunteers was indeed rejected; but the election of Mr. de Valera as President in place of Mr. Griffith, and his insistence on Ireland's determination to dictate her own terms, practically neutralized the vote. Despite the discouraging abstention of Sinn Féin the Convention held to its task, and early in April 1918 presented a majority report to Government. The Report admitted the necessity of creating a constitution for Ireland within the Empire. To effect

this object it proposed the establishment of an Irish Parliament and Executive with full powers over internal legislation, administration, and direct taxation. The Parliament was to consist of a Senate of 64 nominated members to represent the different interests of the country, and a House of Commons of 200 members, to include a guaranteed 40 per cent. of Unionists, chosen in the south by nomination and in Ulster by election. Ireland was to be represented in the Imperial Parliament by 42 members. The control of the Police and Post Office was to be left to the Imperial Parliament for the duration of the War, and as no decision could be arrived at in regard to Customs and Excise they were to be left for future discussion. The Report was presented at an extremely critical period in the War. Germany was making her last, most determined effort, and the Allies were in dire need of every man that could be raised. In his determination to win the War at all costs, the Premier, on submitting his new Man-Power Bill to Parliament in April 1918, announced Government's intention to extend the Service Acts to Ireland, but at the same time to concede a measure of Home Rule based on the Convention's Report. In view of the intention to extend conscription to Ireland the government of the country was transferred to Lord French. But, owing to the opposition of Sinn Féin and the passive resistance offered by the Catholic clergy, Lord French's efforts to enforce conscription failed, and the failure leading to a state of suppressed rebellion nothing more was heard of the Home Rule scheme.

Present Situation of Affairs. Shortly after the conclusion of the War, Parliament was dissolved. The General Election in December 1918 resulted in a sweeping victory for the Coalition in Great Britain and for Sinn Féin in Ireland. To mark its victory, a meeting of such Sinn Féin members as were not in prison or 'on the run' was held in Dublin in January 1919, when a declaration asserting Ireland's independence as a free Republic based on the people's will was read and passed. At a second meeting of the party a few

days later, a ministry, with Mr. de Valera at its head, was formed to carry into execution the behests of the Republic as represented by Dáil Eireann. Naturally, Government treated Sinn Féin's attempt to set up a sovereign state as an act of rebellion, and, as the young Republic failed to obtain recognition for itself at the Peace Conference, its attitude was legally justifiable. At the same time there was a strong feeling both at home and abroad that, in view of the principle of self-determination and the rights of little nations governing the conduct of the Allies during the War, the widest concession possible in the way of self-government ought to be made. The feeling found expression in the establishment of an Irish Self-Determination League of Great Britain. Actually there was little difference between Government and public opinion on the subject. The only difficulty was how to give practical expression to the demand with due regard to the safety of the Empire and the uncompromising resistance offered by the Ulster Protestants. Meanwhile the state of Ireland, owing to the constant conflicts between the forces of the Crown and Sinn Féin and the interference of the latter in the administration of the law, was growing daily more anarchical. When Parliament reassembled in February 1920 the King's Speech announced a new Home Rule Bill. The Bill was introduced a few days later by the Prime Minister himself. This time two Irish Parliaments were to be established—the one consisting of 52 members to represent the six Unionist counties of Ulster with its seat at Belfast; the other consisting of 128 members to represent the rest of Ireland at Dublin. In addition to these two Parliaments there was to be a Council consisting of a President appointed by the Crown and twenty delegates from each Parliament. The Council was to act as a connecting link between the two Parliaments and was to disappear when the two Parliaments agreed to unite as one. The Bill was an exceedingly complicated measure; but these, with the usual provisions for the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire, constituted its chief clauses. It passed its third

reading in the House of Commons in November and next month it became law. From the first, however, except on the part of the Ulster Unionists, it had little chance of being accepted by Irishmen. Regarded from an Imperial point of view it was no doubt a very liberal measure, and considerable pressure was brought to bear on Sinn Féin to accept it. But Sinn Féin's claim, based on the precedent set in the case of Czecho-Slovakia, was for an undivided Ireland with the absolute control over its own affairs. The Bill, by partitioning Ireland and the acceptance by Ulster of the Parliament offered it, followed by its formal opening by the King in August 1921, apparently only complicated matters. Sinn Féin would have none of it ; but, by its determination and the methods it adopted to render any government but its own impossible, succeeded in forcing the Prime Minister to open up direct negotiations with its representatives. Eventually, under pressure of public opinion—bewildered by the conflicting reports as to the responsibility for the campaign of murder and incendiarism, extending even to England and Scotland, that was turning Ireland into a shambles—a Conference was arranged to meet in London in November. Thanks to the firm but at the same time conciliatory attitude of the Prime Minister and the reasonable spirit displayed by the Sinn Féin delegates, of whom Mr. Griffith was one, an agreement was arrived at on 6 December, whereby Ireland, under the title of the Irish Free State, was to be admitted to the same constitutional status as the Dominion of Canada. She was to have a Parliament of her own and an executive responsible to that Parliament. Members of Parliament were to take an oath of allegiance to the Free State as by law established and to His Majesty King George, his heirs and successors, ' in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of nations '. Until further arrangements were made, the naval defence of Ireland was to be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial forces. In time

of war the British Government was to be afforded such harbour and other facilities as might be required. In the event of an Irish defence force being formed it was to be proportionate to the population of Ireland. Ulster was to be accorded the option of accepting or rejecting admission to the Free State, but in the event of rejection her boundaries were to undergo a revision. In the interim, pending the establishment of the Parliament and Government of the Free State, steps were to be taken to call a Parliament for southern Ireland on the basis of the Act of 1920, and to establish a provisional government to take over the machinery of government from the Imperial authorities. Immediately the agreement or treaty was signed writs were issued for a special session of Parliament to consider it. Parliament met on 14 December, and despite some opposition the agreement was ratified by a large majority in both Houses. In Ireland, on the other hand, on being submitted to Dáil Eireann, the treaty encountered fierce opposition on the part of uncompromising Republicans and, though there is some ground for believing that it will be ratified, the prospect of its final acceptance by the Parliament, which must be elected before the Free State can be legally established, is by no means certain.

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